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THE

SIYAR-UL-MUTAKHERIN,

A

HISTORY OF THE MAHOMEDAN POWER

IN INDIA

DURING THE LAST CENTURY,

BY

MIR GHOLAM HUSSEIN-KHAN.

Ghulam Husain Khan, Tabatabai

REVISED FROM THE TRANSLATION OF HAJI MUSTEFA, AND
COLLATED WITH THE PERSIAN ORIGINAL,

BY

JOHN BRIGGS, M.R.A.S.,

LIEUT. COLONEL IN THE MADRAS ARMY.

VOLUME I.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR THE ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

SOLD BY
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET;
AND PARBURY, ALLEN, & CO., LEADENHALL STREET.

M.DCCC.XXXII.

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PREFACE.

THE work now presented to the public, was written in the latter half of the last century, by Mir Gholam Hussein-khan, a person of high family at the court of Dehli, and who with his father resided for many years at the court of the nabobs of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. He styles it Siyar-ul-Mutakherin, "a Review of Modern Times."*

It embraces a period of about seventy years, and affords a complete insight into the events which caused the downfall of the Mahomedan power, and the elevation of the Mahrattas, and it brings us to the first steps which led to the occupation of Bengal, and eventually of all India, by the British govern ment. No period of Indian history can be so interesting to Englishmen, as that which immediately preceded the establishment of our dominion, and

* Or, more correctly, "Manners of the Moderns."

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no circumstances can be so instructive as those which hurled to the ground the most potent empire in the universe, and which elevated in its stead nearly at the same moment, that of a race of illiterate and coarse barbarians, in one quarter; and led to the introduction of a highly civilized people in other parts.

The work is written in the style of private memoirs, the most useful and engaging shape which history can assume; nor, excepting in the peculiarities which belong to the Mahomedan character and creed, do we perceive throughout its pages any inferiority to those of the historical memoirs of Europe. The Duc de Sully, Lord Clarendon, or Bishop Burnet, need not have been ashamed to be the authors of such a production.

So valuable was it deemed on its first appearance, that Mr. Warren Hastings became extremely anxious to have it translated into English; but either the absence of Persian Scholars among our own countrymen in India, or a want of time, or perhaps of leisure to undertake the task, occasioned the work to be placed in the hands of a French gentleman, who unfortunately undertook to put the

"Review of Modern Times" into an English dress, instead of confining the translation to his native language. Imperfect as this translation was, both as to style and matter, an accident occurred to it, which has deprived the world even of that; for with the exception of a few copies distributed at the time in India, the whole of the edition printed in Calcutta, was lost in the ship in which it was consigned to England.

In the present state of oriental literature in Europe, it would indeed be a reflection on the English nation, to allow this valuable work to be reprinted with the numerous Gallicisms that occur in the former version. The present translator, therefore, who is not altogether unknown to the public in a similar character, has undertaken, at the suggestion of the Oriental Translation Committee, to render the "Siyar-ul-Mutakherin," available to the English reader. To Mr. Graves C. Haughton, who kindly placed at his disposal a valuable copy of this work in the original Persian, and to Colonel Doyle, who sacrificed his copy of the former translation to his use, the translator feels himself highly indebted; and he trusts that this additional effort

to contribute to the development of the history of Mahomedan India, will meet the approbation of the distinguished individuals of the Oriental Translation Committee, who so liberally contribute to maintain an establishment, which promises to be so useful to England in particular, and to Europe in general.

Madras, 30th May 1831.

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THE

SIYAR-UL-MUTAKHERIN.

CHAPTER I.

THE Emperor Aurengzib, after having spent great part of his life in bringing under subjection the region of the Deckan, without being able fully to accomplish that end, marched towards Dehli, then the capital of the empire of the house of Baber. He was, however, overtaken by fate at the city of Ahmednagar, where, in the ninety-first year of his age, and the fifty-second of his reign, his venerable person, assaulted by a variety of diseases, was reduced so low that he despaired of his life. There were then in his camp two of the princes, his sons, Cambakhsh, the youngest and most beloved, and Mahomed Aazem-shah, who bore the character of a man of ability, and of being fond of military glory. On this young prince he conferred the viceroyalty of the kingdom of Bijapoor, and bade him depart instantly with the necessary re-

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tinue of a king, directing him, at the same time, to pursue his journey by long stages, and to push forward without stopping. The order required that he should set out on Tuesday the seventeenth of Zilkad, four hours before daybreak. The object of such precise instructions was to place the young prince out of the power of his elder brother Mahomed Aazem. Seven days after, having taken that precaution, he ordered his second son to proceed to his government of Malwa four hours after sunrise, with injunctions to make short stages of about five coss daily, and to halt two days at each stage, so as to march only every third day. In giving such orders, the emperor told him that it was to put it in his power to prevent the disorders that might happen in that country in case of a vacancy of the throne, and moreover that he might be at hand to avail himself of his father's demise, and take possession of his inheritance. But the emperor's real object was to keep so enterprising a prince at a distance from him at that time, and to prevent his availing himself of his feeble state of body to seize and confine him, in the same way as Aurengzib had confined his own father Shahjehan. The prince had proceeded a few stages only when the emperor fell into a state of extreme debility, and having lent an ear to his Maker's summons, he answered it by saying, "I am ready, O Lord,"

17 Zilkad, A.H. 1118, 10 February, A.D. 1707.

and he departed into eternity. This event happened on a Friday, the twentieth of the month, one watch and three hours after daybreak, which answers to five astronomical hours after sunrise.

20 Zilkad, A.H. 1118. 13 February, A.D. 1707.

The intelligence of the emperor's death reached the Prince Mahomed Aazem in a few hours; he hastened back to the imperial camp, which he entered on Sunday the twenty-ninth of the same month, about one-quarter of an hour before dark, and on the next day two hours before sunrise he assisted in raising the imperial coffin and carried it a few paces on his shoulders, after which he sent it to Aurengabad.

29 Zilkad, A.H. 1118. 22 February, A.D. 1707.

On the morning of the eighth of the next month, he ordered the imperial music to strike up, and on the following Wednesday, which was also the day of sacrifice,* Mahomed Aazem ascended the throne of his ancestors, and bent his thoughts on gaining the hearts of the nobility and on rendering his reign acceptable to his people. The next day he took possession of the imperial treasures, invited to his court the nobility of the provinces and the absent grandees of the empire, and gave a public audience; his intention being to receive every one according to his rank and station. He confirmed

8 Zilhaj, A.H. 1118. 4 March, A.D. 1707.

* The anniversary kept by the Moslems in commemoration of the intended sacrifice of his son Isaac by the patriarch Abraham.

Assed-khan in the office of Vezir, and he raised Zulficar-khan, the son of the minister, to the command of the forces.

At this time Sultan Mahomed Muazem, the eldest son of the deceased, was at Cabul, a city and fortress on the frontier. Of this province he was the viceroy. He had with him his two younger sons, Khujista-akhter, and Refi-al-cadr, while his eldest son, Moiz-ed-din, resided in Multan, of which district he was the governor, and his second son, Azim-ush-shan (the ablest of the four, and the object of his grandfather's affection) dwelt in Bengal, whereof he was viceroy. It appears that the intention of Aurengzib was to leave the empire of Hindoostan to his eldest son, Sultan Muazem; the dominions of the Deckan to his second son, Mahomed Aazem; and the kingdom of Bijapoor to his favourite son Cambakhsh, in full hopes that those three princes, each satisfied with his lot, would promote the welfare of the people. But who is the man who has not felt the effects of ambition? and how could so experienced a prince flatter himself that his sons would be free from it? Cambakhsh, who governed Bijapoor in full sovereignty, seemed content with his lot, and he was the more so, because Sultan Mahomed Aazem, in order to please his mother, had added another province to his dominions, and had consented to allow him to coin money, and to

have the khutba read in his name.* But matters were not so quiet in Hindoostan; for Sultan Mahomed Muazem, on hearing of his father's illness, had set out from Cabul, as did his second son Azim-ush-shan from Bengal. Both those princes, taking what troops and artillery were at hand, marched towards Acberabad,† a great city on the high road leading to the Deckan. Sultan Mahomed Muazem was on his route when he received the news of his father's demise, on which he immediately assumed the imperial title and ascended the throne. This ceremony took place on the first Wednesday of the month of Muharrem, in the year 1119, precisely at midnight, being the hour pointed out by the astrologers, when the sun entered the sign of Leo. After this, Sultan Mahomed Muazem wrote to his brother, Mahomed Aazem, that, if satisfied with being king of the Deckan, which was an extensive dominion, and that which their father had set apart for his portion, he abstained from interfering with Hindoostan, such conduct would not fail to produce mutual benefits. This communication, however, made no impression on Mahomed Aazem, who, trusting to his own personal influence and prowess, disregarded his brother's over-

Muharrem, A.H. 1119. March, A.D. 1707.

* The coining of money, and having public prayers read in the mosques in his name, are two of the peculiar privileges which belong to a king alone.

† Agra.

tures; to whom he answered by the well-known adage, "It is impossible for two kings to sit together upon the same throne." He consequently made preparations for supporting his pretensions, but his efforts ended in his own ruin.

Meanwhile Sultan Mahomed Muazem reached Lahore, where in a few days he was joined by his son Moiz-ed-din, who had set out from Multan with all the troops he could collect on so short a notice. There the latter was admitted to the honour of kissing his father's feet, after which he pronounced a speech in his praise, prayed for his prosperity and length of days, and then followed him to Acberabad. Fortune seemed in other respects to favour this prince, for Azim-ush-shan the king's youngest son, who with a numerous and well-appointed army was then on his march to Acberabad, intercepted a convoy of a corore* of rupees, being the revenue of Bengal, which the finance minister of that country was sending to the capital, and secured the whole of it, but kept it untouched at his father's disposal. He also seized Mokhtar-khan, the governor of the province of Acberabad, a nobleman of importance, who had given his daughter in marriage to the prince Bedar-bakht, and who was a hearty well-wisher to the cause of

* A corore is a hundred lacs, equal to about a million sterling.

Aazem-shah. With Mokhtar-khan was secured at the same time the imperial treasure, and that vast quantity of royal furniture of all descriptions, which had lain deposited many ages in the palaces of that city. Azim-ush-shan endeavoured to strengthen his party by conciliating the minds of the inferior governors and commanders, and by gaining the hearts of the people: in which he succeeded so well that both his army and his party gained daily accessions. But he could not prevail on the governor of the city of Acberabad to cede that fortress. He resolutely answered, that at a time when the imperial throne was disputed by three princes of the royal blood, he could not with any propriety deliver the fortress to any one of them, until that one should have fully established his government; in which case he knew too well what became him, both as a subject and a servant, to mistake his duty. With this reply he kept his fortress shut up, and prepared to sustain a siege. The prince thinking it inconvenient to lose any time in prosecuting the siege, went on with other affairs of importance, until his father, Sultan Mahomed Muazem, arriving, he effected a junction with him, and presented all the treasure which he had had the good luck to secure.

No succour could be more welcome; for the troops, already become clamorous for want of pay,

were suffering great hardships, and had already become dispirited. This timely assistance was hailed as a good omen, and Sultan Muazem from that moment conceived the fondest hopes of success. He returned thanks to God, and distributed his treasure according to the necessities of his troops. Aazem-shah, who had only tarried a few days at Ahmednagar to secure the services of the well-appointed array which he had found ready-made to his hand, with which he marched to Acberabad, resolved to dispute the crown with his elder brother. The natural ardour of his mind flamed by sanguine hope, he marched with so much rapidity that he left behind most of his infantry, and almost the whole of his artillery, till he reached by forced marches the fort of Gualiar, where he established his head-quarters, on Monday the eleventh of the Rebi-el-Awel, in the year 1119. Seven days after he advanced towards his brother, whom he found encamped on the plain of Ajaju, close to Acberabad. Some of his troops advanced on the Imperialists, and set fire to part of Sultan Mahomed Muazem's tents, as also to those of Azim-ush-shan, who was himself encamped there; but the latter was so hard pressed as to be compelled to stand on the defensive.

11 Rebi-el-Awel, A.H. 1119. 31 May, A.D. 1707.

Sultan Mahomed Muazem, who was then on a hunting-party, no sooner heard of the enemy's

being at hand, than he flew to his son's assistance, bringing with him his eldest son Moiz-ed-din, and his best generals with their troops. The combat now thickened apace, when an event happened which, by turning the fortune of the day in favour of the Imperialists, was received as a token of approbation from Heaven. There arose suddenly such a violent wind as seemed to give the combatants an idea of the dreadful *serser* that buried the whole tribe of Aad* under the sands of Arabia. This wind blew on the back of Sultan Muazem and in the face of Aazem-shah's army. This last prince had given the command of his left wing to his eldest son Bedar-bakht, and that of his left to his second son Wallajah. Aazem-shah led the centre against the enemy, having his youngest son Aali-tebar, then a child, with him upon his elephant. But he had left Assed-khan his vezir in the camp at Gualiar with a body of troops. The prince meanwhile pushed forward with ardour. Zulficar-khan, who had been generalissimo under Aurengzib, represented to him that the day was far spent, that a violent tempest blew towards them, and that great part of the infantry and artillery were still at a distance in the rear, for which reasons he conceived

* This is an historical event alluded to by the author. The effects of the *serser* or *simum* are confirmed by modern travellers, who have seen them in the Arabian deserts.

it would be imprudent to risk a battle for a throne on such disadvantageous terms: he recommended the prince Mahomed Aazem, therefore, to remain satisfied with the advantage he had already gained over the enemy by having burned his camp-equipage and defeated part of his cavalry; and that when the remainder of the troops, infantry and artillery, should come up, he might, with every hope of success, fall on the enemy, already intimidated. This speech had no effect on the prince, who estimated too highly his own military genius and the courage of his troops, besides which he despised his brother and his party. He therefore answered Zulficar-khan by some expressions that indicated resentment. The latter, who was a man of established courage and great experience, replied, that since his Majesty would not listen to advice dictated by his zeal and by common prudence, and chose to run headlong on his own ruin, he hoped he would not find fault with him if he abandoned a cause that looked so unpromising. The prince, full of indignation, having uttered a few broken words of reproach, turned his face away, and Zulficar-khan, without farther explanation, put spurs into his horse and joined his father, who had been left in the camp at Gualiar.

Mahomed Aazem now fell on the enemy with fury, and the troops on both sides being equally eager to

display their courage, a tremendous conflict ensued. But the violence of the wind raised such clouds of dust and sand, that the field of battle was entirely darkened. The troops of Mahomed Aazem were almost blinded, and it became impossible to distinguish friend from foe. It was asserted by several persons of character who fought in that battle, that the sand was so hot, and it choaked so effectually the mouth and eyes of the combatants, that no one could stand such a tempest but by turning his head about, nor could an arrow be distinguished at more than a few paces distant. Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, the troops of Mahomed Aazem gained ground. The imperial army was in danger, and the desperation with which both officers and men fought was such, that to this day the battle of Ajaju, or Acberabad, is remembered all over Hindoostan for its obstinacy, and the slaughter that ensued. There was in Mahomed Aazem's army an Afghan officer of great strength, called Manuwer-khan, who commanded five thousand men of his own nation, who used to say that a day of battle was to him like a wedding-day. On this occasion, he dressed himself in cloth of gold, and gave a turban of the same materials to every one of his followers, each of whom was ready to shed his blood for his chief. This officer having found a favour-

able moment, drew near to the Prince Mahomed Aazem, and requested leave to descend from his elephant, and mount on horseback, in order to rush on the enemy, and shew his zeal in his master's cause. The prince desired him to remain upon the elephant which had been allotted to him from the imperial stables; but Manuwer-khan, mortified at the refusal, pushed on at the head of his troops as far as the centre, where the Prince Azim-ush-shan commanded. Here he was opposed by Hussein Ali-khan Barha, son of the illustrious Seid Abdullah-khan of Ajmir, better known by the appellation of Mia-khan. Hussein Ali-khan himself having received several wounds, fell senseless on the ground, and the greater part of his division was destroyed. The enemy had also lost many men; but Manuwer-khan exhorted the few that remained with him to push on as far as Azim-ush-shan's elephant; when having in his hands one of those spears called *belem*,* he struck it with such force against the prince's howdah,† that it passed through the back-board

* The *belem* is a weapon well known in the south of India; it is a spear about nine feet long, thick, and having a broad blade. It is used to kill wild hogs.

† The seat which the elephant-rider occupies. The *howdah* is a square box, and uncovered; the *amarri* has a canopy, supported on pillars, and usually richly ornamented: the former is used in war, the latter on state occasions only.

on the opposite side; and the prince had infallibly been killed, had he not avoided the blow by inclining his body to the left. At length Manuwer-khan, after performing many feats of valour, fell, surrounded by the few intrepid men who had refused to survive their brave commander. This bloody action cost the lives of many persons of illustrious rank; the prince Bedar-bakht, who commanded the left wing, was slain, as also his brother Wallajah, a young prince who had never before been in action.

It now became necessary to announce these losses to their father, Mahomed Aazem. This unfortunate prince, who tenderly loved all his children, but particularly the eldest, heaved a deep sigh, and said that victory and life were henceforward alike indifferent to him. With these words he ordered his driver to carry his elephant into the midst of the enemy's ranks, where his howdah was so thickly struck with arrows that one would have imagined it had rained arrows on that day. He was followed by a chosen band of guards, personally attached to him, not one of whom would leave their master. Mahomed Aazem, regardless of his own safety, but anxious about the royal child, Ali-tebar, covered him with his buckler, after having made him squat in the howdah, though he himself remained exposed. He still pushed on,

using his bow incessantly. But vain were all those efforts. The day was already far spent, and fortune had declared against him. His best officers were slain; such as Terbiet-khan, Aman-ullah-khan, and Matleb-khan, with the two brothers Manuwer-khan and Khan Aalem, together with the Hindu princes Raja Ramsing and Raja Dalpet, with many of their troops. His two hopeful sons also were now no more. The prince himself, wounded by several musket-balls, had fallen senseless in his howdah, when a wretch of the name of Rustem-dil-khan, having clambered up on that hero's elephant, had the baseness to cut off his head. He then took the royal child, Ali-tebar, by the hand, and carried him to Sultan Muazem, his master. This spectacle made a deep impression on the emperor. The sight of his brother's bloody head was more than his feelings could bear; he wept bitterly, and pressed the royal orphan, his nephew, the prince Ali-tebar, to his bosom, and did every thing to pacify him. In the sequel, he conceived so great an affection for him that he never made any difference between him and his own children. The latter took umbrage at these tokens of his tenderness, and once resented and complained of it; but they were silenced with this answer from the emperor's mouth: "If your inquietude be about his being inimical to my for-

tune and crown, I must tell you once for all, that I believe you are much likelier to be so yourselves than he, and that this child, in case of need, will prove himself at all times more anxious for my preservation than any of you." Fortune having put an end to the contest with Mahomed Aazem, his ministers and generals joined Assed-khan, the vezir, and Zulficar-khan; and the whole went in a body to pay their homage to Sultan Muazem, who was now every where recognized by the title of Bahadur-shah. The Vezir Assed-khan, and his son Zulficar-khan, with their hands bound with a handkerchief, presented themselves in that condition. At this sight the emperor rose from his place, and with his own hands set the vezir's hands at liberty; turning, at the same time, to his son Moiz-ed-din, he desired him to loosen those of Zulficar-khan. Not content with this mark of condescension, he spoke with the utmost kindness to both father and son, especially to the former; and sending for one of his own suits of clothes, he ordered him to put it on directly—an honour seldom conferred on a subject. When he saw him dressed, he advanced, and embracing him, made him sit down in the presence. He conferred on him the command and pay of a division of seven thousand cavalry, with the grade attached to one of nine; added to which he ordered him a pre-

sent of two corores of dams,* and directed that his palky should be admitted within the imperial enclosure, as far as the gate of the bathing-rooms, that his music might play within the imperial enclosure—honours reserved only for princes of the blood royal. As a last token of his favour, he gave him the title of Jelil-al-cadr, and conferred on him the office of Vakil-i-mutlak, or lord-lieutenant of the empire. Munaim-khan received at the same time the title of Jumlet-el-mulk, with the office of vezir, and the government of the province of Acberabad. His station at court was on the right hand of Assed-khan, and he had the privilege of offering his counsel. After these arrangements the emperor turned his attention towards the conduct of certain Hindu princes, and chiefly of Jey Sing, Raja of Amber, who had sided with the prince Mahomed Aazem. That Raja's own brother, Bijy Sing, having taken part with the emperor, and having proved himself very useful, he was placed at the head of the estates, and Jey Sing received orders to attend at court.

Raja Ajit Sing, son of Jesvant Sing Rahtore chief of Joodpoor, had likewise aided the prince Mahomed Aazem; and moreover had since proved refractory; such conduct required immediate atten-

* *Dam* is a copper-coin, in value the fortieth part of a rupee. Ayeen Akbery, vol. i. p. 32.

tion, and the emperor having marched into those countries, took the fortresses out of the hands of the hereditary princes, and put them under the management of the imperial officers, ordering the dispossessed chiefs to attend the imperial stirrup, and to live henceforward at court. The vezir Assed-khan was ordered to repair to the capital, which, with its dependent territory, was placed under his special care. In this manner every part of the empire was gradually coming into order; and every heart being gained over by the emperor's affability, served to strengthen the throne. Unfortunately, however, there arose a civil war with the two remaining sons of Aurengzib.

The Prince Cambakhsh no sooner heard of his brother Mahomed Aazem's death, than he proposed to oppose the victorious party. In vain did the new emperor send him soothing messages, and advised him to live in peace. These mild overtures served only to give confidence to Cambakhsh, and he sent answers breathing nothing but defiance. Even these the emperor would have overlooked, but finding himself urged to war, and reproached by his own sons, he resolved to reduce Cambakhsh. With that view he quitted Dehli on Monday the seventeenth of Shaban, in the year 1119, and marched towards Bijapoor by the way of Fatepoor and Ajmir. On the third of Zilkad of the ensuing

17 Shaban, A. H. 1119. 5 Oct. A. D. 1707.

3 Zilkad. A. H. 1119. 14 Feb. A. D. 1709.

year, being a Wednesday, the two armies fought a battle in the vicinity of Hydrabad, of which city Cambakhsh had made himself master. After repeated attacks and much slaughter, Bahadurshah's army drove the enemy out of the field. This happened at midnight, and by that time, most of those chiefs personally attached to Cambakhsh being slain, the rest betook themselves to flight, leaving a complete victory to the emperor. The prince himself, after exhibiting great personal courage, and receiving several wounds, which afterwards proved mortal, had fallen senseless on the ground, with hardly any other sign of life than a faint respiration. In that condition he was found, and being placed upon an elephant, was, together with his children, brought before his brother. On notice of his approach, the emperor sent his eldest son Moiz-ed-din, with orders to shew him every mark of respect; and directed that the wounded prince should be lodged in a retired tent, within the imperial enclosure, where he went on foot to pay him a visit. On seeing him, he heaved a deep sigh and said, "Alas! I never desired to see you in this condition;" the prince, raising with pain his dying eyes, answered, "nor did I ever desire to see you in the condition you now are:" with these words he expired. The emperor was exceedingly affected, and retired to his own apartments, tak-

ing with him the young orphans his nephews. He ordered them to be educated in the same manner as he had done Aali-tebâr, and he always lent a deaf ear to the repeated remonstrances and reproaches of his own children on their account. This battle having rendered Bahadur-shah master of the Deckan, as well as put an end to all competition in Hindoostan, and his authority being everywhere firmly established, he conceived it a favourable time to introduce some changes on which he had resolved. One day he communicated in as conciliatory a manner as possible, both to Assed-khan and to his son Zulficar-khan, that the generalissimo Munaim-khan was an old servant and a zealous friend, extremely attached to his person, and added that he had on a former occasion promised to make him vezir whenever the crown should devolve on him. He now said that Munaim-khan had reminded him of that promise; "but as I intend," said he, "not to disoblige you on the one hand, nor on the other to break my word with him, I desire your advice in this delicate conjuncture, and beg you to point out some expedient that may satisfy both parties without wounding my own honour."

Assed-khan, on observing the emperor's inclination, answered, "that adherence to their word was always incumbent upon kings; but that he

hoped, likewise, that the honour of two faithful servants, who had zealously served the imperial family for such a number of years, would be protected from insult." This answer in some measure eased the emperor's mind, and he persuaded Assed-khan to be content with the high office of Vakil-i-Mutlak or Lord Lieutenant of the empire, and he ordered him to be invested anew with a rich dress of honour. Munaim-khan at the same time, who had often acted as lieutenant to the imperial princes, and as divan or minister of finance, was invested with the robes of vezir, and the imperial signet was entrusted to his hands. The rank of these two great men was also settled by the emperor, who directed that after Assed-khan should take his seat under the canopy of the vezir, Munaim-khan should walk up to him in a respectful manner, and should present to him the papers that might require his signature. This arrangement having satisfied these illustrious personages, they united their efforts in despatching the affairs of state, and in promoting the welfare of the empire.

Zulficar-khan, the generalissimo, was honoured with the title and office of Amir-ul-omrah,* and appointed viceroy of the Deckan, comprehending all the provinces already conquered or to be conquered hereafter. This was a charge of vast im-

* Chief of the nobles.

portance, for which he was eminently qualified, for no other man at that time would have been able to rule countries so newly conquered and so refractory. The new viceroy, after having settled to his mind the military and financial affairs of his government, returned to court; having left as his lieutenant an Afghan nobleman, called Daud-khan Peni, a man famed in those countries for his riches, his bodily strength, and his personal prowess; and who had rendered himself of so much importance, that there were no noblemen in Deckan who could be compared with him. He was made the director of all political affairs, as also of the finance department, with full liberty to undertake any military expedition which he should deem advisable. Zulficar-khan, after having eased his mind of so great a burthen, went to court, where he applied himself sedulously in aiding to introduce order throughout every part of the empire.

The provinces of Bengal, Orissa, Azimabad * and Ilahabad, had hitherto been governed by Azim-ush-shan, the emperor's second son, and it was thought politic to continue those countries under the same administration; an arrangement which put it in that prince's power to reward two illustrious nobles who had rendered him many important services, and had distinguished themselves

* Patna.

in the great battle of Acberabad. These were Seid Abdullah-khan and Seid Hussein Ali-khan, sons of the famous Seid Abdullah-khan, so much revered in Ajmir under the name of Mia-khan. On the elder, Abdullah-khan, he conferred the government of Ilahabad; and he gave that of Azimabad (Patna) to the younger, Hussein-Ali-khan. At the same time Jafer-khan was entrusted with the provinces of Bengal and Orissa, in which he had hitherto acted as minister of finance. After these arrangements the prince took up his residence at his father's court, where he exercised great influence. The emperor, who was exceedingly good-natured, and mild even to a fault, having remembered a vow which he had once made to the Creator of all things, that if ever he should ascend the throne he would never deny any man's request, now wanted to act up to the letter of this vow: accordingly, dignities, titles, and employments were lavished so indiscriminately, that they lost much of their value, and ceased to be deemed marks of honour or distinction; although no less a man than Munaim-khan was appointed to examine into the several petitions, and to report on the respective claims of each person. Nevertheless, as men of low origin, whether Hindus or Mussulmans, obtained every day the military grade of six or seven thousand horse, and the titles of

Jung and Mulk, as well as those of Ray and Raja,* which were given to all classes, dignities came at last to lose their value, and titles to forfeit all estimation. For example, one of the dog-keepers, who applied for a title, was honoured with that distinction by the king's own private orders. On the occasion of conferring this title, the prince Azim-ush-shan, whose seal and signature was requisite before the patent of nobility could pass, remonstrated with his father, and said, if it be your royal pleasure that there should be a Khan (noble) in every house, and a Ray (Hindu prince) in every bazar, you may certainly confer the title of Ray on this dog-keeper; and he accordingly became known hereafter by the title of Lord Dog-keeper, to the great astonishment of the world, and was pointed at as he passed through the streets, people saying to each other there goes my Lord Dog-keeper, till at length he was induced to give money to people to refrain from molesting him on the highway, but it had little effect.

Meanwhile the army, which pushed forward towards the Deckan was overtaken by the rainy season,† and the emperor conferred the govern-

* The affix of *jung* and *mulk* to all Mahomedan titles, and those of *ray* and *raja*, to Hindu titles, had their relative value.

† This reference to the campaign in the Deckan is out of place. Bahadur-shah made but one campaign to that quarter, which was when he conquered Cambakhsh.

ment of Guzerat on Ghazenfer-jung,* ruler of Berar, an office he had once held under Aurengzib. At the same time Raja Jye Sing Kichwaha and Ajit Sing Rahtore both quitted the court, when near the Nerbedda, without permission, and returned to their own country; where, having ejected with a great deal of fighting and slaughter the imperial officers, they retook possession of their fortresses, and reinstated themselves in their own dominions.

Having proceeded to the south, the emperor remained some time at Hydrabad. He at length returned towards Hindoostan in order to reduce the fugitive Hindu princes who had quitted his camp at the Nerbedda. The latter, availing themselves of their distance from court, had in the meantime given battle to the three Seids brothers, Ahmed Sayid-khan, Hussein-khan, and Gheiret-khan, who all three on the same day received the honour of martyrdom. These events only added to the emperor's indignation, but his apprehension of those Rajpoots made it expedient to temporize

* This chief held the titles of Chin Khullich-khan Ghazi-ed-din Ghazenfer-jung Bahadur. He was left governor of the Deckan in 1688, after the capture of Golconda by Aurengzib. His descendants, under the title of Nizam, occupy the kingdom of Hydrabad, on the musned of which is seated his great-grandson at this moment.

with them, and having accepted their submission he granted them their pardon. He was induced to this measure the more from hearing that Guru Govind was in arms in the northern mountains at the head of a body of Siks, by whom this chief had been joined. He had already slain in battle Vezir-khan, the commandant of Serhind. The emperor now ordered one Assed-khan, acting as lieutenant-general under Zulficar-khan, to enter the mountains, and to blockade on all sides the strong-holds into which Guru Govind had thrown his forces; but that chief found means to effect his escape one night with all his followers, of whom only a few were intercepted, a neglect that very much reflected on the character of Assed-khan. The emperor, finding that no glory was to be acquired in this campaign, left Rustem-dil-khan with a body of troops to continue it, and proceeded towards Lahore, where the general, Assed-khan,* departed this life. His office of lieutenant-general was conferred on Hedaiet-ulla-khan, the son of Enaiet-eddin-khan. At this time also, Ghazi-eddin-khan died in Guzzerat.† The emperor was then encamped on the banks of the Ravi, the river that

* It is of importance to bear in mind that this person is not Assed-khan the Vakil-i-Mutlak, father of Zulficar-khan.

† His eldest son, Mahomed, received the title, and afterwards flourished under that of Asof Jah Nizam-el-mulk.

flows past Lahore, when Rustem-dil-khan appeared at court after having quitted his post without leave. He was consequently deprived of his commission and jaghir and confined in the citadel of Lahore, and Mahomed Amin-khan was sent in his stead to take command of the army in the hills. Some strange events happened during the emperor's residence in Lahore. Bahadur-shah was fond of the company of learned men, and passed for an acute proficient in the subtilties of law and divinity; qualities in which he surpassed by far all the princes of the house of Timur. In consequence he loved to be surrounded by people skilled in those sciences, and discoursed with pleasure on those topics wherein he had convinced himself by reflection he was right. Accordingly, on his arrival at Lahore, he assembled the learned men of that city, most of them staunch Sunnies, and argued with them on the justice of the claim of his holiness Ali, the son of Abu Taleb the Commander of the Faithful, on whom be peace. These men were all defeated in argument, and the confusion to which he reduced them made him entertain the design of adding to the usual profession of faith, as uttered in the public prayers and in the khutba, the words "and Ali is the saint of God, and the heir of the prophet of God."

An affair of so much importance required a firm-

ness of mind which was never a conspicuous trait in the characters of the princes of the house of Timur, especially in those of latter times. Added to this, the emperor's eldest sons Azim-ush-shan and Khujista-akhter, both men of courage and merit, were zealous Sunnies, so that this innovation proved very unwelcome to them. The emperor himself became apprehensive of vigorous opposition on that score; but being unwilling to abandon his design without making some effort to ascertain its practicability, he one day sent a Shiah reader to the principal mosque, after having put him under the safeguard of Azim-ush-shan. The prince, who was in his heart averse to the measure, took the man with him out of deference to his father's will; but remained entirely passive when the congregation, which was mostly composed of Hanefies,* having information of the scheme, fell upon that innocent man and hewed him in pieces, before he had time to utter the offensive words.

This commotion was succeeded by another. The men learned in the law, and some principal inhabitants, all of the Sunny persuasion, having forthwith assembled in the mosque, sent a message

* Followers of the tenets of Abu Hanifa, a celebrated Mahomedan doctor, who supported the legal succession of the three first khalifs.—See Asiatic Researches, vol. x. p. 483.

to the palace, by which they invited the emperor over to their principles, and they required every inhabitant of the city to assist them in resisting innovation with their persons and fortunes. No further attempt was made by the emperor; but he continued, during the remainder of his life, to promote the tenets of the Shiahs, and to pass a great deal of his time in arguing with the doctors of the opposite sect, though to no purpose: and indeed, if the promulgation of new principles depended entirely on argument and reason, why should the prince of prophets and chief of messengers, on whom, as well as on his posterity, be salutation and peace, have received authority to fight from the Lord of the creation? he who was confessedly the most eloquent man of his time, whether in Arabia or in Iran.

Five years had already elapsed since the emperor's accession to the throne, and it was the third year since he was encamped on the Ravi, close to the city of Lahore, when some alteration was perceived in his mind. It was about the middle of Muharrem, in the year 1124 of the Hegira, one day that he took it into his head to give orders for killing all the dogs in camp, as well as those in the city of Lahore. As such an order, from so sensible a prince, could not but appear very strange, people were willing to account for it

Muharrem, A. H. 1124. Feb. A. D. 1712.

by supposing that some witchcraft or enchantment had been practised upon him. Such a state of things was the more disagreeable, as the Siks were becoming daily more numerous and troublesome. Forbidden from coming into the city of Lahore, not one of them was to be seen in the day-time, but as soon as it was dark they never failed to return to the houses of those that used to feed and cherish them, and their orgies lasted during the whole night. At day-break they would throw themselves into the Ravi, and after having swam to the other side, they lurked during the day in the neighbouring fields.

This conduct on the part of the Siks, as well as the tumult in the mosque, I mention upon the faith of a letter which Amin-ed-doula of Sambal wrote to his family, and which I found among the papers of his secretary. The letter says that the emperor, incensed against the doctors that had excited the tumult which had cost the Koran-reader his life, ordered some of them to be thrown into prison, and others to be sent to the fortress of Gualior. Some time after, the emperor, having felt a slight indisposition, which no one suspected to be severe, fell into a swoon, and died suddenly on 19 Muharrem, A. H. 1124.
the 19th of Muharrem, about two hours before 16 Feb. A. D. 1712.
night.

The prince Azim-ush-shan, who was present

when the emperor fainted, unable to stand such a spectacle, retired to his own camp, after having desired Amin-ed-doula to tarry a few hours, in order to bring him further intelligence; so that as soon as the emperor expired, that nobleman repaired to the prince and informed him of the event. The prince wept bitterly; but Amin-ed-doula bade him take heart, as not a moment ought to be lost in ascending the throne, and he ordered the imperial band of music to strike up immediately. This being complied with, the few courtiers that chanced to be at hand hastened to present their offerings, according to custom, wishing the prince a long and happy reign. At this time Amin-ed-doula, with Niamet-ullah-khan, and some others, represented that Zulficar-khan, the commander of the troops, and Hemid-ed-din-khan, who were both inimical to him, were now busy in preparing the funeral of the late emperor, and would be so occupied with that ceremony as to admit of their both being seized and secured. The prince, neglecting so important a measure, answered that the imperial honour would suffer from so hasty and indecent a proceeding; that for his own part he relied solely on his own right and to God Almighty's assistance, and that after all Zulficar-khan could do but little. This answer struck his counsellors and well-wishers dumb, who said in a low voice, "May God turn

this disposition to good account." In fact the prince was guilty of a great oversight; nevertheless Niamet-ullah-khan, of his own accord, went away directly, and putting himself at the head of his own numerous brigade, marched straight to the imperial tents, where he found that Zulficar-khan had already gone to his camp, and was in the middle of his troops, so that he missed the opportunity of seizing him as he had determined.

It must be observed that Azim-ush-shan had always exercised great power in his father's lifetime, under whom he acted as his lieutenant, whether in signing papers or in the transaction of business, and the whole of the household, which he commanded, was devoted to him, so that he found no difficulty in taking possession of his father's treasures and ascending the throne—a step which afforded confidence and satisfaction to the troops in camp: but this was not the case with all classes.* Those who looked more narrowly into affairs were apprehensive of trouble and bloodshed; so that whoever could provide himself with a carriage or a beast of burthen, hastened to send his family with his effects into Lahore during the night, whilst others went within the imperial enclosure, and took up their abode there.†

* Azim-ush-shan was only the second son.

† The imperial inclosure embraced from one acre to two, or

During this time the physicians Sadik-khan and Hekim-el-mulk, together with Mahabet-khan and the ministers of state, as well as all the crown-officers, went in a body to pay homage to Azim-ush-shan, to whose presence they were conducted by Shah-nevaz-khan and Hemid-ed-din-khan. On the other hand, Rustem-dil-khan and some others paid their court to the prince Khujista-akhter. Zulficar-khan,* who did not like this prince, and was upon bad terms with Azim-ush-shan, joined the eldest son Moiz-ed-din, and asked him whether he had any commands. "None at all," answered the prince—"at least at present; for I have neither money nor troops, having added to the imperial army whatever I could bring together when I came to join my father. I intend to retire to my government of Multan, where I expect to collect forces, as well as the means of appearing again upon the stage, when I shall act according to circumstances." Zulficar-khan disapproved of such a proceeding; he offered to supply money, troops, and artillery, and proposed to invite both the princes Khujista-akhter and Refi-ul-kadr, by which measures he hoped to supersede Azim-ush-shan's party; after which, the three brothers

even three acres of land, surrounded by tent-walls, within which the royal tents were pitched.

* Khujista-akhter was the third son.

might consult about further measures. This proposal was not relished by Moiz-ed-din, who, trusting but little to the promises of Zulficar-khan, desired first of all to sound his two brothers. Zulficar-khan returned directly to his own quarters, where having collected what money and effects he thought necessary, he sent them to Moiz-ed-din, repairing at the same time to the two other princes, whom he gained over at the first interview, after having made them agree to take an equal division of the treasures and effects of the late emperor.

All this while Azim-ush-shan, surrounded by the crown-officers, and by the courtiers and generals attached to his party, remained in full possession of the imperial honours, and resolved to attack whosoever should venture to dispute his right. He surrounded his camp with a ditch, planted cannon around, and for a few days waited the event, in hopes that, as the other princes had no money, their troops would disperse, or come over to his camp. But as fortune did not favour him, the very reverse of this took place; for Zulficar-khan, after having performed a service above all reward, united the princes, who repaired with him to Moiz-ed-din's camp, where they formed for him a court worthy the imperial dignity. This event A.H. 1124.
happened in the 1124th year of the Hegirah. The A.D. 1712.

next day they marched to attack Azim-ush-shan's lines. In a little time his troops were defeated, and fled on all sides; and it is most singular that Azim-ush-shan's body was never found, notwithstanding all the search made for that purpose. This event is related in the following manner:— On the first day there was a slight attack; then, as if both parties had changed their minds, the confederate princes contented themselves for seven days together with firing showers of cannon-ball into Azim-ush-shan's camp, from which they were answered in the same style. On the seventh day, Niamet-ullah-khan and Aziz-khan, with Raja Mohcam-sing Katry and Raja Raj-sing Jatt, came in a body, with Shah Nevaz-khan at their head, to Azim-ush-shan, and represented that, as the confederates were not so numerous as had been apprehended, it was possible to attack and disperse their troops, by falling upon them at once, and coming to short weapons. The new king desired them to wait a little, and they were obliged to comply. He hoped that Churamon Jatt and the Bunjaras would so beset the roads, that no provisions could reach the camp of the confederates, which would oblige them to disperse for food. Whilst he was thus disposed to dilatory measures, he took no steps to gain the hearts of his troops; he was extremely sparing of those treasures he had found

ready at his command, and acted like one who was anxious to carry them to the other world with him. With such sordid views no wonder that, whenever any bold measure was proposed, he was sure to oppose it, by answering in those memorable words, 'Wait a little more!' On the eighth day, Zulficar-khan having procured from the city of Lahore several large pieces of cannon, planted them on a rising ground, from which they incessantly poured showers of shot into Azim-ush-shan's camp; and as, in order to bring up these cannon, the road to Lahore had been opened, the troops of Azim-ush-shan, already exceedingly disaffected, availed themselves of the excuse to put themselves out of the reach of fire by returning from the rear of his camp. This state of inaction having highly disgusted the two Hindu rajas, they waited on the king, and represented to him that they would put up no more with the eternal taunts of the enemy, and stated their determination to fall upon them with their own men, whether they were supported or not. To this animated remonstrance, the prince made the usual answer, 'Wait a little more!' The two brave Hindus, shocked at such a reception, vented their indignation in expressions of reproach; and, sallying forth, fell, sword in hand, upon the enemy. As these did not expect so sudden an attack, they were surprised, and gave

way; and the two Hindu rajas, after performing wonders, and passing through the enemy's ranks, penetrated as far as the great battery, of which they took possession. This would have been the time to support those brave men; but so far was the king from making any such effort, that he sent his aides-de-camp abroad to reprimand and bring back some other commanders, who had sallied forth to their aid. This moment of suspense having been observed by Zulficar-khan and Rustem-dil-khan, they made a brisk attack upon the rajas, who received them with great bravery; but being overpowered by numbers, both these princes fell; and their men losing courage, fled towards Lahore, at the very instant that Suliman-khan Peny was coming to their assistance with a body of a thousand horse. That gallant leader came just time only enough to lose his own life by a musket-ball. His body was sent to the city by the victors, out of respect for his valour.

Of about sixty or seventy thousand men in Azim-ush-shan's army, there now remained about his elephant no more than ten or twelve thousand; and these, as soon as he returned to his head-quarters in the evening, retired to Lahore in great confusion: so that the next morning he found himself with no more than two or three thousand men, and with this handful he now wanted to attack the

enemy. As he was going to mount the elephant he usually rode, the animal refused to kneel in spite of the efforts of his driver to oblige him, and the king was induced to send for another. By this time even the few troops that had remained with him disappeared; and when he put his elephant in motion, he found about his person only Niamet-ullah-khan with ten troopers, Amin-ed-doulah-khan with twenty, and Raja Jye-sing with a little more than a thousand horsemen: the whole not amounting to two thousand men. Still he advanced to the field of battle; but hardly was the action commenced, when there arose such a violent wind, as put in motion all the sands of the Ravi, raising such clouds of dust, that no alternative was left, but that of shutting the eyes, and turning the head away from its violence; nor was it possible to open them but to see the flash of the enemy's cannon. Some troops of the enemy's cavalry having come up in the rear of Azim-ush-shan's party, let fly a shower of arrows; but, as there was no seeing Azim-ush-shan's person, the troops pushed forward to plunder his treasures. A moment after, a cannon-ball struck the seat of the elephant, and setting on fire the pillows, occasioned a great deal of smoke. The king, in order to save his life, threw all the furniture down; and Amin-ed-doula having asked whether he was not hurt, he answered, "Not at all:

go on, go on." At these words the general fetched several deep sobs, and dropped some tears. He was reprimanded by the king, who with unusual coolness reproached him for his want of firmness. "Firmness!" replied the general, "to what purpose can firmness avail us now? The vessel of all our hopes is about to be dashed against rocks, and nothing remains to me but to strike my head against a stone. In vain have all your faithful servants entreated you to let them go forth, and make a general attack; in vain did they repeat their entreaties for adopting so salutary a measure: your answer was always in those ominous words, 'Wait a little more.' But after all, how could your majesty do otherwise, since it was the Almighty's decree that we should be undone? Still there remains one step; there is yet time—a moment hence and it will be too late. Leave your elephant, mount a horse, and fly with us towards Bengal.* There you have your family and friends; and Daud-khan Peny, who commands in the Deckan, is your devoted servant. Let us retire to Bengal, which is a place of safety; and there, after having recruited your strength, you may return and act as occasion shall require." "All that is very fine," replied the prince, "but what did Dara Shekoh do, after

* Azim-us-shah had long been Governor of Bengal, and possessed influence there.

his defeat? did flight avail Shujah?* If I am yet destined to reign, the scriptural sentence, 'Many a time did a small number prevail over a multitude,' shall be verified in my person; nor is victory and success yet so far distant from us."

To all this Amin-ed-doula rejoined that he had no more than twenty troopers with him, for that every one else was gone. "Very well," said the prince coolly, "let me have one-half of these twenty, that I may rush with them on that wretch Moiz-ed-din; and with the other ten do you rush on that other wretch Khujista-akhter." The general was in despair on hearing these words. The king was yet speaking, when Khwaja Hussein, since Khan Douran, was heard to say from behind, "General, I am going to Bengal; take my advice, let us go together." "Never;" answered the general: "so long as there is breath in Azim-ush-shan, I will never desert him." He had hardly said this when a cannon-shot having struck the king's elephant full on the root of the proboscis, made him furious. The animal turned about, and ran to the water-side; his driver lost his seat, and fell on the ground. Jelal-khan Lody, who sat behind, laid hold of the ropes, and sliding down on the ground,

* Dara Shekoh and Shujah were the brothers of Aurengzib, whom he opposed, defeated, and slew, after they had fled from the field.

fled for his life. Several people attempted to stop the elephant, among whom was Amin-ed-doula, but there was no restraining him. In a moment he saw the animal throw himself down a cliffy part of the bank, and plunging into the river he disappeared, causing an extraordinary commotion in the water, from which arose a great deal of mud, but the elephant never re-appeared, and it is concluded that both the animal and the king sank never to rise again. Amin-ed-doulah now took to flight; but was overtaken and seized, and sent close prisoner to the citadel of Shah-jehan-abad, where he remained, until he was set at liberty by an express order, which Ferokh-siar, after his victory over Moiz-ed-din addressed to the governor Mahomed Yar-khan for that purpose; and in the sequel he rose to the highest dignities in the state.

This important victory which had cost the enemy so little, raised the views of Moiz-ed-din, a prince who wanted neither courage nor merit, and he now conceived the design of setting aside the partition-treaty, and of assuming for himself the crown of all Hindoostan. He evinced his purpose so openly, that the union of the three brothers ended in confusion and bloodshed. These dissensions first arose out of the division of the imperial treasures. These consisted of eighty cart-loads of ashreffies,* and

* Gold coins.

of a hundred cart-loads of rupees. Khujista-akhter wanted to divide all this money into three equal parts; but Zulficar-khan made use of so much chicaneryand brought forward so many pretences, that three-fifths of that immense sum became Moiz-ed-din's share, and the other two-fifths only fell to the lot of the other brothers. Such a proceeding could not but exasperate them: Khujista-akhter forthwith resolved to proclaim himself king, and he took the title of Jehan-shah, so that there were two parties now ripe for coming to blows. Khujista-akhter, or Jehan-shah, having been joined by several commanders of distinction, among whom were Mahomed-khan and Rustem-dil-khan, men who thought of nothing but slaughter and blood, the two armies viewed each other with jealousy, but they did not immediately come to blows. They passed whole days and even whole nights under arms, for as soon as the sun set, the two armies lit fires, and seemed to wait for an attack. Jehan-shah soon found himself at the head of a large body of troops and a numerous artillery, nor was Moiz-ed-din, who now assumed the title of Jehandar-shah, worse prepared for action.

On the fourth day, Jehan-shah, after considerable skirmishing, said to his generals that he wanted to examine his encampment from without, and directed that (as on the three former days) they

should keep their troops mounted and ready, as he intended to review them. At the same time he desired his spies to be on the watch, and to give him immediate notice the moment they perceived the enemy's cavalry alight, and prepare to clean their horses. On that instant Jehan-shah rushed on his brother's camp, where, after a slight combat the confusion became general. The enemy's troops confounded by so unexpected an assault, made but faint resistance and dispersed. The flight and dismay became so general, that Lal-koor, Jehandar-shah's favourite mistress, and who followed him every where, mounted upon an elephant concealed behind a curtain, was on this occasion obliged to fly with the crowd on foot without a veil. In this condition she fell into the hands of Rustem-dil-khan, who was actually loosening the string of pearl that hung in a tassel attached to the string of her drawers, when she was rescued from his hands. The confusion was so complete, that Jehandar-shah, unable to wait for his own elephant, got upon the first that came to hand, without a canopy, and wrapping himself up in a large sheet, bade the driver carry him across the line of the enemy's troops, as if he were carrying a lady, till he could find his way to Zulficar-khan. This bold step succeeded, and Jehandar-shah joined his general, just as cries of victory were filling the air in the

enemy's lines. Zulficar-khan amazed to see Jehandar-shah in such a plight, became anxious to retrieve the fate of the day. He called aloud to a body of choice musketeers long attached to his person, and throwing handfuls of gold amongst them, told them how they could now render him an important service. "There you see," said he, "Jehan-shah surrounded by multitudes of officers and soldiers, who are presenting him with offerings in compliment of his victory. Let some of you mix with that crowd, and whilst he is talking to the people about him, and receiving congratulations, fire upon him." The infantry literally obeyed their instructions, and discharging their matchlocks at the same instant, he fell covered with wounds; and this event gave an unlooked-for victory to their master. Jehandar-shah so unexpectedly victorious, no sooner heard of his good fortune than he retired with his mistress to his quarters, where he spent the night in revelry; whilst the troops, fatigued by the exertions of the day, laid down to sleep on the field of battle.

The next morning at day-break, the prince Refi-al-cadr sent the principal eunuch of his seraglio to compliment Jehandar-shah on his victory; but the victor, who had passed the whole night in drinking, was now fast asleep, and there was no awakening him. The king's servants, hearing of the mes-

sage which the prince's eunuch had brought, fell a laughing, saying that his master having seen what had befallen Azim-ush-shan and Jehan-shah, had better beware of his own conduct. The intelligence of the state of the court acted on Refi-al-cadr as if he had awoke from a dream. He ordered the great kettle-drum to be beaten, and instantly placed himself at the head of his troops. This movement having put Zulficar-khan upon his guard, he ranged the army in battle-array, and sent a trusty eunuch, with orders to cause Jehandar-shah to be mounted by any means whatsoever upon an imperial elephant. Jehandar-shah was immersed in intoxication, himself bare-headed, with his clothes in the utmost disorder, and with hardly any knowledge of what was going on around him. In that condition he was seated upon his elephant and brought to the field of battle, while Zulficar-khan marched to oppose Refi-al-cadr. This prince advanced at full gallop, and charged the troops of his rival with heroic valour, that deserved a better fate. He penetrated through the thickest of his foes, and fell covered with wounds. The few troops he had about his person were almost all slain, and himself being wounded, and left nearly alone, he took up his sabre and buckler, alighted from his elephant, and after having performed prodigies of valour, he undauntedly drank of the bitter draught presented him by death.

This victory having placed Jehandar-shah in undisputed possession of the crown, he sent notice of his accession throughout all the provinces. Moving at the same time from Lahore, he marched to Shah-jehan-abad, where he made his entry with all the pomp of an hereditary monarch, and with the pride of a conqueror, on Monday the fourteenth of the month Jumad-el-awel, of the year 1124, about three hours before sun-set. On his passage through Bidly he was received by Mahomed Yar-khan, governor of the province, who went out on purpose to pay his homage to the emperor as he passed by on his elephant. Four days after Monday, the sun being then in the meridian, the emperor made his entry into the citadel of Dehli, and took possession of the imperial palace. The new sovereign being now firmly seated on his throne, confirmed Assed-khan in the high dignity of Vakil-i-Mutlak, or lieutenant of the empire, and Zulficar-khan, his son, in that of vezir. Sultan Kerim-ed-din, the eldest son of Azim-ush-shan, was seized at Lahore through the agency of Hedaiet-kesh-khan, and being brought to the emperor's presence suffered death, as well as all the other princes of the blood, sons of the princes Mahomed Aazim, or of Mahomed Cambakhsh: these were Ali-tebar, son of Azem-shah, and Firozmend, the two sons of Cambakhsh, besides a third son, whose name is not certainly known.

14 Jumad-el-awel, A.H. 1124.
9 June, A.D. 1712.

The king's foster-brother, Cocaltash-khan, was promoted to the highest offices, and his name was changed to that of Khan-jehan-bahadur. The king's mistress, Lal-koor, received the title of Imtiaz-mehel-begum (the most accomplished of ladies), and was distinguished with the privilege of riding close to her sovereign on an elephant covered by a canopy, an honour reserved for princes of the royal blood. The king's foster-brother was eventually raised to the office of Amir-ul-omrah, which was now the third dignity in the empire, and he obtained every day some addition to his influence and emoluments. The king's partiality for Lal-koor was boundless; he seemed solely intent on pleasing her. Her brother Khoshal was made a commander of seven thousand horse, and her uncle Niamet-khan received the command of five thousand; not content with this he intended to dispossess an illustrious nobleman of the viceroyalty of Acberabad, in order to bestow it on Khoshal-khan, but here the emperor's partiality met with an unexpected check. The vezir on casting his eyes over the patent, refused to affix the seals unless he also brought the fees of office, which, in derision of the new governor's former occupation, he fixed at five thousand guitars and seven thousand timbrels. Khoshal-khan stung to the quick by so severe a sarcasm, imparted his resentment to his sister, whose influence over the

emperor's mind was unbounded. Jehandar-shah, who owed the deepest obligations to the vezir, commanded his attendance, and in a mild tone of voice recommended Khoshal-khan's affair to him, adding, that the strange kind of fees he had demanded was doubtless by way of joke. "No joke at all," answered the minister, in a serious tone. "There is no pleasantry in the matter, please your majesty, I was in earnest: for, as the nobility, your servants, are from father to son in the habit of serving the crown in vice-royalties, governments, and such other employments, so has it been the custom of your imperial ancestors to amuse themselves with dancers and singers, whose merits it was usual to reward by pensions and bounties; but as soon as these last shall aspire to military dignities and governments, and shall commence to take possession of them, there will remain no other alternative for your nobility, but that of betaking themselves to the profession just forsaken by the dancers and singers: for they must after all live as well as these. When, therefore, I asked from this gentleman so many thousand guitars, with as many timbrels, it was with a view to distribute them to your majesty's dispossessed governors and generals, who certainly have a right to earn their bread as well as others." This answer caused the emperor to hang his head, but he

said not a word. The new viceroy lost his promotion.

Lal-koor, when yet a common dancer, had been so intimately connected with Zahra, a woman who sold greens about the streets, that she had adopted her as her dogana.* This woman now shared a portion of the sweets of her friend's elevation. This intimacy brought her so near the throne that she became the channel of favour, by which she was enabled to appear in the streets with a retinue equal to that of the first noble of the land. She rode upon an elephant magnificently caparisoned; and whenever she went to see her old friend Lal-koor, she rode through the citadel quite up to the apartment of the royal ladies, a privilege enjoyed only by wives of princes, or princesses of the blood. Her people too, in imitation of their mistress, became insolent and overbearing; so that whenever she went to the palace, they used to insult old women and other inoffensive people they met in the streets. There was then in the capital a son of the celebrated noble Ghazi-ed-din-khan, whose original name was Chin-khalich-khan. He had been commander-in-chief under Aureng-zib, and had enjoyed the highest confidence of that discerning monarch. This general, after his

* The wives of the same husband call each other *dogana*, literally duplicate or double.

sovereign's decease, had abstained from coming to court; he lived retired, was seldom seen abroad, and then only for the purpose of paying a visit to some man renowned for his piety or his learning. Unluckily one day, as he was passing along with his retinue, he was met by that woman Zahra's equipage, whose followers were full as numerous, but much more insolent. In conformity with the complexion of the times, the general made a sign to his people to step aside, and leave the street free, so that the lady might not be stopped. But her people threw out a number of sarcasms at the general's servants, whom their master was at the pains of keeping under control. When Zahra came up, she asked whose retinue it was, and what was their master's name? On being answered, she put her head out from behind the curtain, and called out, "Thou, Chin-khalich-khan, must surely be the son of some blind father, not to move out of the road." These words unhinged the general's temper, who made a sign to his people, which they interpreted to be an order to chastise that insolent woman's servants. Hardly was the signal given, when those old soldiers fell upon Zahra's retinue, and after having handled them severely, they dragged Zahra herself from her elephant to the ground, and gave her several cuffs and kicks. This was over in an instant; but it was enough to

make the general recollect in how much danger he had involved himself, and how critical was his situation. Struck with this conviction, he turned to the right, and for the first time in his life went to pay a visit to Zulficar-khan. The vezir expressed his surprize, and wished to know what were his commands, and to what he owed the honour of so unexpected a visit. The general gave him a faithful account of what had happened. The vezir not only condoled with him, but applauded his conduct. As soon as he was gone, the minister wrote this short note to the emperor: "The honour of any one of the nobility belongs to them all, and that of your devoted slave is identified with Chin-khalich-khan." It was high time that such a note should arrive, for by this time Zahra had got within the precincts of the palace, but without advancing farther than the gate, when she threw ashes upon her head, and rolled in the dust. Lal-koor, who thought herself involved in the affair, worked upon the emperor's mind to induce him to commit some act of severity, and God knows what might have been the result, when the note was put into his hand.

This affair happened at the very time when Lal-koor's worthy brother, unable to restrain himself in his sudden elevation, was guilty of all sorts of excesses. This upstart, having chanced to see

a beautiful woman, married to a gentleman who lived in the vezir's neighbourhood, fell desperately in love with her, and as entreaties and presents proved of no avail, he attempted to obtain possession of her person by force. The husband screamed, and ran to Zulficar-khan. This minister, who was naturally a lover of justice, and a man of decision, was shocked at the atrocity.* In the agitation of the moment, he sent people with orders to bring the guilty Khoshal-khan, dead or alive. The order was executed with much severity: he was dragged to the vezir's apartment, who, so soon as he saw him, ordered him to be put to the bastinado, so that he was left for dead. He was afterwards sent prisoner to the castle of Selimgur, and his whole property was directed to be confiscated to the exchequer.

This conduct on the part of the vezir displeased the emperor so much, that the cordiality existing between him and his minister was much shaken, but as the king remembered that he owed his very life and crown to that nobleman's conduct, he was induced, from a sense of his value, to bear with him for the present, especially as the news from the East now engrossed his attention.

Bengal, the most eastern province of the empire,

* The aristocracy of Dehli must, indeed, have been sadly shocked at so gross an act of indelicacy.

and the only one which was entirely under the management of the Khalsa, or exchequer-office, produced the greatest revenue to the crown, and the office of divan, or superintendant of revenue of that province, was one of the most important offices in the empire. It was at this time filled by Jafer-khan, who had been appointed in the reign of Aurengzib. At the same time a prince of the blood, Azim-ush-shan, was governor of the province and commander-in-chief of the forces, possessing authority to make war or peace without waiting for orders from court. This prince enjoyed, besides, an absolute command over the neighbouring provinces of Orissa, Behar, and Ilahabad. To lighten the burthen of so weighty a charge, and in order to reward two noblemen who had rendered services of importance, Aurengzib bestowed the government of Behar, whose capital was Azimabad Patna, on Hussein Ali-khan, and that of Ilahabad on his elder brother, Abdullah-khan. At the same time, he entrusted Jafer-khan with the military government of Bengal and Orissa, of which he was already divan, or superintendant of finance. On the demise of Aurengzib, the prince Azim-ush-shan marched to the assistance of his father, Bahadur-shah, and left his son, Ferokh-siar, with some of the ladies of the seraglio at Acbernagar, commonly called Rajmahal, a place situated on

the banks of the Ganges, where Sultan Shujah, the brother of Aurengzib, had built a noble palace. Azim-ush-shan left likewise, under the care of some persons of distinction, personally attached to him, his treasures, and such of his effects, which he did not think proper to take with him. The young prince, Ferokh-siar, remained there during the whole reign of his grandfather, Bahadur-shah. Matters remained in that state until fortune having put an end to Azim-ush-shan's life, in the manner we have related, Moiz-ed-din Jehandar-shah ascended the throne. One of his first cares was to dispatch an order to Jafer-khan, viceroy of Bengal, to send the prince Ferokh-siar prisoner to court. This order embarrassed the Khan, who felt himself under great obligations to the prince's father. He sent, therefore, a trusty person to wait on him, advising him to provide for his safety by flight. The prince, who reckoned on the gratitude of Hussein Ali-khan, set out from Rajmahal with his family, and arrived at Azimabad Patna in great dejection of mind, and uncertain how to act. Instead of entering the city, he took his abode in a caravansera, near a spot close to the water-side, called Jafer-khan's garden, which touches the eastern extremities of the walls. From thence he sent a message to Hussein Ali-khan the governor, in which he expressed himself like one in the

utmost despair. The governor, who did not think himself strong enough to espouse Ferokh-siar's cause, declined at first to have any concern with him; he even answered, that the orders he had received from court required of him a very different line of conduct: that out of respect for the memory of the prince's father, he could not bear the thought of seizing his person as he was commanded to do, but that he recommended him by all means to retire out of the province, and afford the governor some excuse by which he might escape the calumny of a jealous court, and the suspicions of the emperor. This circumstance is, however, related in a different manner in a memoir that appeared after Ferokh-siar ascended the throne. According to that narrative, Ahmed-beg Koosa, a man who subsequently cut a great figure in that province, having taken an active part in this affair, prevailed upon the governor to pay at least one visit to the fugitive prince, who received him in such a manner as had never been practised by any prince towards a subject, or by any master to a servant. He was all humility and submission; he stood when the governor entered, and made him sit in his presence. After such a reception, he represented how friendless, hopeless, and distressed was his condition, and how fearful he was lest he should meet at court with a fate similar to

that of his brother Kerim-ed-din. He added, that unless he found some protection or assistance, he had nothing to hope for his safety, or for his life. He had hardly done speaking, when the ladies of his family, whom he had stationed on purpose behind a veil or curtain, began weeping aloud, and the prince's youngest daughter, Maleka-zemany, came from behind the curtain, and seating herself on the governor's lap, repeated to admiration the part she had been taught. In a soothing tone of voice she entreated him to take pity on a forlorn family, and to lend his assistance to her father, at the same time she paid him some compliments, and added these very words, that have been preserved by the author of the memoir: "It is true you are of the race of God's messenger, and you descend in a direct line from the holy Ali; moreover, you enjoy all the advantages which power and a high character can confer, but yet it cannot be denied that it is to Azim-ush-shan's favour that you owe your present station. If, then, you make use of this power in aid of my father, and render him those services which may be expected from your illustrious birth and your high character, you will prove yourself worthy of the distinctions of my grandfather Aurengzib. Whatever be our destiny, beware of what the world shall say of you." The princess had hardly done speaking,

when several attendants, who remained behind the curtain, joined their entreaties to hers, and, from sobs and tears, they proceeded to screams and lamentations. At this moment Ferokh-siar, who, on the governor's introduction, had dressed him in one of his own robes, and had made him sit down, now rose from his seat and advanced to fasten his own sabre on the governor's side. The latter, overcome by such unexpected condescension, said, "that what he had hitherto done was nothing more than what became him as a faithful subject, however uncourtly it might appear. I have (said he) nothing but my life to offer, and this I dedicate to your service; and now that I have put on this sabre, I have devoted it, as well as my fortune, to your welfare. Command me then, that I may do as I am bid. Now is the time,—raise troops, and prepare every thing for pushing on the war. Ascend the throne at once, and without allowing the enemy time to look about him, let us follow our destiny."

Ferokh-siar's behaviour produced this great effect. Hussein Ali-khan now required that every one of his followers should pay homage to the prince, and make a tender of his life and fortune. A proclamation to this purpose was issued throughout the province. This brought together a great concourse of people. Several astrologers, fortune-

tellers, and men of learning now approached the prince, and he himself being exceedingly credulous and ignorant, was for ever consulting them as to what might be the fate of his expedition. This behaviour put it in their power to feed him with favourable predictions, and with hopes suited to their own purposes. In these predictions some were in earnest, and some meaned no more than to obtain money for themselves, as several of them did as soon as Ferokh-siar ascended the throne, and had it in his power to bestow pensions upon them.

Whilst the prince was employed in listening to these soothsayers, Hussein Ali-khan was taking every measure that could promote his object; and with that view he wrote to his elder brother Abdullah-khan, viceroy of Ilahabad, to give him notice of what had happened, and to entreat his concurrence. Abdullah-khan, amazed at the intelligence, animadverted severely on the precipitancy of his brother's conduct. He adverted on the impropriety of a step which involved in its consequence the fate of their consorts, children, and families, which being at Shah-jehan-abad must suffer from the resentment of the emperor when he saw his throne attacked. To this reproof Hussein Ali-khan answered, that for his own part, he had taken his line, happen what would, and could not retrace his

steps; but that his elder brother might if he chose adhere to the emperor. In the sequel Abdullah-khan himself, carried away by his brother's entreaties and example, wrote to his younger brother that, since what had happened could not be recalled, it became them both to make the best of it, now that they were embarked in the undertaking. He said, "Make haste to join me, as my proximity to the capital renders me more liable to become an object of resentment. Let us unite, and have but one cause." This is what I find in the memoir before alluded to; but there is another account, which is as follows.

Bahadur-shah having appointed Az-ud-dowla, a nobleman of high rank, to the government of Bengal, commanded Ferokh-siar's attendance at court. The latter, being apprehensive of a fate similar to that which his two brothers, Kerim-ed-din and Humayun, had suffered, did not chuse to trust himself near the emperor, and had protracted the time by contriving a variety of delays. On arriving at Azimabad Patna, and unwilling to proceed farther, he, under pretence of his wife being near her time of confinement, found means to prolong his stay, and wrote to court accordingly. During his sojourn there, some astrologers, fortune-tellers, and others, men who wanted only to provide for themselves, prevailed on Hekim-messih,

the prince's physician, to instil into his mind notions of ascending the throne as the only means of providing for his own safety. While these people were working on his weak mind, there appeared suddenly at Azimabad Patna, one Mahomed-reza, better known under the name of Raiet-khan, who being one of those officers that had fled from Bahadur-shah's resentment, was seeking to repair his fortune by producing a forged order for taking possession of Rhotas, a strong fortress south of Azimabad. He actually found means to effect his purpose, and after laying in a stock of provision, calculated on keeping possession. He had even the audacity to write to the emperor and inform him that his soldier had, through the negligence of the governor, found means to get possession of such a good post. This intelligence was likewise confirmed by the news-writers of those parts, and by the crown intelligencers. On this information there came an order from the emperor, supported by a letter of Azim-ush-shan's, enjoining prince Ferokhsiar to chastise the rebel. But, as it was not an easy matter to gain admittance in the fortress, one of the prince's officers, called Dilachin-beg, a Calmuc by birth, who had once displeased the prince and had been forbidden the court, found means to send him a message by one of the courtiers to this effect. "I propose," said he, "that the prince shall

give out that he has received orders to confirm the rebel in his post, and beg that I may be deputed to carry to him the robe of investiture. Let the prince therefore try my abilities in this undertaking, which I hope may recommend me to his notice; but in case I perish in the attempt, I hope it will entitle my family and children to a subsistence for their lives."

This project having been approved, the officers of the government published a false account of the imperial orders, and the prince having sent for the Calmuc, put into his hands the khilat, standard, and patent of investiture, and dispatched him with due honours. Dilachin-beg thus provided, put himself at the head of a numerous retinue, and arrived at the foot of the mountain on which Rhotas is situated, and from thence he sent notice of his purpose to Raiet-khan, who being upon his guard and extremely suspicious, would admit only the envoy and two more persons. The Calmuc went up with only one attendant, and whilst the governor, into whose hands the standard had been delivered, was intent on reading the patent, he stabbed him with his poignard, and repeated the strokes until the governor fell down dead. The Calmuc with his companion were both wounded in the scuffle. At sight of this, the officers of the garrison arose upon the impostor's followers, killed

some, wounded others, confined the rest, and putting the dead man's head into the Calmuc's hands, they sent him to Ferokh-siar, who loaded him with favours. This event happened just at the time when intelligence of Bahadur-shah's demise was received, and when Hussein Ali-khan was gone on an expedition in order to quiet some distant parts of his government.

This period of suspense was seized by Ferokh-siar, and before intelligence could arrive of any of the deceased emperor's children having ascended the throne, he caused the public prayers at the mosques to be read in the name of his father Azim-ush-shan. Having reflected on the importance of this proceeding, and dreading the consequences of his precipitancy, he sent a message to Hussein Ali-khan, the governor of the province, justifying his conduct, and at the same time desiring his attendance. Some days after, the governor returned to Azimabad Patna; but as he did not seem disposed to form any connection with Ferokh-siar, he was visited by the prince's mother, who conciliated him by promising to place at his disposal all the affairs of the empire; and after putting into his hands her own Coran, which she had brought for the purpose, she swore by it that he should never repent of the union. This interview calmed the governor's apprehension, and entirely

gained his heart; when news came of Azim-ush-shan's death, and of the accession of Jehandar-shah to the throne. By this time, Hussein Ali-khan had engaged himself so deeply with Ferokh-siar, that he could not withdraw with any safety; and he thought it better boldly to push on. He therefore ordered public prayers to be read in the mosques for Ferokh-siar, coined money in his name, and displayed the standard of open war against Jehandar-shah. Ferokh-siar, in return, made it a point to cement his union with Hussein Ali-khan, and to add every day to his influence and authority.

The latter now assembled the bankers and principal men of the city of Patna, and having borrowed from them large sums of money, according to their circumstances, gave them bonds signed by the prince, made payable on his having subdued his enemies. By this means he was enabled to assemble a considerable army; and on an auspicious day he set out on his expedition, carrying the prince at the head of his troops. At the same time, he appointed Seid Gheiret-khan, his sister's son, lieutenant-general in the province of Behar; and knowing that the tribute of Bengal was on its way to Ilahabad, he wrote to his brother Abdullah-khan, to seize and reserve it entirely for the prince's use, unless he wanted some small part of it for his

own necessities. This treasure was under charge of Shujah-khan, son-in-law of Jafer-khan, viceroy of Bengal. Abdullah-khan no sooner received the prince's order than he secured and converted part of it to the payment of his troops, and kept the remainder for his brother's use. He also prepared the artillery of the citadel and province for the field, and selected a number of pieces to compose his own train. Whilst thus engaged in pushing his preparatives with vigour, Jehandar-shah, informed of his rebellion, conferred the government of Behar on raja Mahomed-khan, whose lieutenant Seid Abd-ul-ghaffer-khan, a man of character, had orders to attack Abdullah-khan, for which purpose he had been supplied with twelve thousand cavalry and a quantity of artillery. Abdullah-khan, who had been all this while expecting his brother and the prince, confounded at their non-appearance, and conceiving his small force to be no match for the imperial troops, shut himself up within his citadel, after having sent one-half of the garrison to harass the imperialists on the march. The troops of Abdullah-khan, which hardly amounted to seven thousand men, cavalry and infantry, were under the command of his three younger brothers Nur-eddin Ali-khan, Nejm-eddin Ali-khan, and Seif-eddin Ali-khan, to whom he attached his own general Bakhshy Abd-ul-mohsen-khan, a native of

Bijapoor in the Deckan. Seid Abd-ul-ghaffer, who had as high an opinion of himself as he had a contemptible one of those three young men, turned their rear, and pushing on the citadel of Ilahabad, besieged it in form, after having sent word to the governor that he had left his nephews in the rear, because he had no inclination to play with children. This sarcasm, which was faithfully reported to those young men, quickened their zeal, and they fell upon his reserve; but their troops, which, besides being all new levies, were greatly inferior in number to the enemy, fell into confusion, and lost ground every moment. This was no sooner perceived by the three young men than they resolved not to survive a defeat. They joined a body of Seids of Barhar, who were personally attached to them, and performed exploits worthy of being recorded in history. Fortune seemed now to favour the young heroes: one of those violent winds common at that season of the year arose, and blew such clouds of dust and sand into the face of the enemy as nearly blinded them. Unable to resist its violence, and still less to distinguish friends from enemies, the imperialists fell into confusion, and became incapable of listening to orders, or of keeping their ranks. This being perceived by the young warriors, they redoubled their efforts, slew Abd-ul-ghaffer's brother, and pushed on with fury. As

soon as it was known in the enemy's line that their general was slain, a panic seized those that before stood their ground, who now fell back and retreated, and the imperialists sustained a total defeat. This victory could not fail to raise the spirits of Ferokh-siar's party; but it affected Abdullah-khan in a very different manner, for his younger brother Nur-eddin Ali had lost his life in the battle.

Abdullah-khan caused the military music to strike up, but was unable to conceal his grief upon the occasion of his brother's death. The loss of this battle having given the emperor some doubt as to the event of the war, he thought proper to try what could be effected by intrigue. With that view he sent a dress of honour to Abdullah-khan, applauded what he had done, and added a confirmation of his government of Bengal and Behar. But it came too late; for Ferokh-siar was already at Ilahabad with a numerous army, in which was included a number of generals of character—such as Sef-shiken-khan, Ahmed-khan Coca, Moiz-ed-din Koosa, since created Galeb-jeng, and Khwaja Hussein, afterwards Khan-dowran. The two Seid brothers, who were the soul of the army, having made choice of a favourable moment, invoked the souls of their pious and brave ancestors, and departed full of spirit on an expedition that had

already begun so successfully. This intelligence having been conveyed to the emperor, he resolved to send his son Eiz-ed-din at the head of a powerful army to oppose Ferokh-siar on his march. But, in fact, the young prince Eiz-ed-din was under the tutelage of Khwaja Ahsen-khan, brother to Cocal-tash-khan. This nobleman, who held the rank of a commander of five thousand horse, was now raised to the command of seven thousand; and the whole conduct of the expedition and the safety of the prince's father was confided to him. After his departure, the emperor despatched Chin-khalich-khan with orders to reinforce him. The prince having advanced as far as Kedjwa, near the Ganges, heard that the two brothers were in full march towards him. This piece of intelligence stopped him short, and although vastly superior in numbers (for he had above fifty thousand horse, besides artillery), he did not think himself a match for the enemy, and thought it requisite to entrench himself.

Abdullah-khan approached and cannonaded the imperial camp. The prince could contain himself no longer for fear; and he and his general having loaded themselves with as much gold and jewels as they could take, fled together in the beginning of the night, leaving their artillery, baggage-carts, and military chest, in the hands of the enemy. The

army was soon informed of the absence of their prince and general-in-chief. The officers in the camp disagreed, and could come to no resolution amongst themselves as to what should be done, but they passed the time in disputes. On the evening the enemy got intelligence of the state of affairs, and rushing into the imperial camp, plundered it so effectually, that numbers of people enriched themselves for the remainder of their lives; notwithstanding which there remained a vast deal of treasure, which together with the artillery was seized for Ferokh-siar's use. This prince tarried a few days to give rest to his army, whilst Eiz-ed-din in his flight towards Acberabad met the corps commanded by Chin-khalich-khan. This general, shocked at so flagitious a proceeding, made use of force to stop the prince, who wanted to fly farther, but he detained him in his camp until he should receive orders from court. Such a shameful defeat very nearly blasted all the emperor's hopes, who trusting now to no one, resolved to march in person against so successful a rival; and on Tuesday the twelfth Zilcad in the year 1124, he left his capital 12 Zilcad, A.H. 1124.
with an army of seventy thousand horse, besides a 30 November, A.D. 1712.
numerous body of infantry, and a train of heavy artillery. Zulficar-khan commanded this mighty host, under whom were the famous Cocal-tash-khan, with several generals and officers all re-

nowned for their achievements. Such were Aazem-khan, Jany-khan, and Mahomed-khan, besides other Turany and Irany nobles. On his march he was joined by Ser-belend-khan and by Fojdar-khan of Corrah, who, taking possession of the money he had been receiving there on his master Ferokh-siar's account, deserted to Jehandar-shah, to whom that small service rendered him so dear, that he immediately gave him the government of Guzerat. On the other hand, Chebilram, the new Fojdar of Corrah, and Ali Asgar-khan, son of Kar-teleb-khan, Fojdar of Atava, went over to Ferokh-siar. But by this time the emperor having arrived at Simogur, a town in the neighbourhood of Acberabad, found himself opposed to the enemy, who was separated from him only by the river Jumna. The sight of the enemy occasioned transports of joy to the two Seids and throughout Ferokh-siar's camp, whereas it created dismay in the emperor's court. The reason is plain: unanimity reigned in the former, whereas by his flagitious behaviour Jehandar-shah had alienated the hearts of most of the members of his court. Almost all the Turanies had promised by letters and messages, that they would join Ferokh-siar, Abdul-semed-khan alone excepted; nevertheless there was so visible a superiority of force on the emperor's side, that it was generally believed that his rival would have no chance against

him. Unluckily, however, such differences prevailed between Zulficar-khan and Cocal-tash khan, as gave rise to a mutual and inveterate aversion, so that nothing went on well in the emperor's camp, for Cocaltash-khan, who enjoyed the emperor's confidence, was a man incapable either of giving or of receiving advice. In this state of affairs, orders were issued to cross the Jumna for attacking the enemy, and the two favourites agreeing in nothing but in their mutual jealousy and in giving opposite council, the emperor was actually incapable of deciding for himself. Desperately attached to his mistress Lal-koor, he had of late fallen into a delirious kind of melancholy that rendered him totally incapable of conducting all public business.

Such a state of things could not be concealed from the enemy, and in fact, Abdullah-khan having received information of a ford which was situated eight miles above the enemy's camp, crossed in the night, and marched on without stopping as far as Kuchbehary, a village beyond Acberabad on the high road to Dehli; where some time after he was joined by Ferokh-siar himself. In order to deceive the enemy and to perplex his movements, Hussein Ali-khan with a *corps de reserve* remained where he was over against the enemy's camp, and did not cross the river on that day, but waited till

his motions could be effectually concealed by the darkness of the night. He had with him Chebilram Nagar, a Hindu of high character. Ferokh-siar's army making its appearance at day-break on the rear of the imperialists, it became necessary to change front, and to marshal the troops anew, so as to bring the artillery to the front, which could not be done without confusion. It was on the fourteenth of Zilhaj of the same year, that the two armies advanced against each other. Jehandar-shah took post in the centre, surrounded by a brilliant retinue, and by several regiments of choice troops, with a train of artillery in front. Zulficar-khan, by whom he seemed to be governed in whatever related to war and politics, placed himself with a body of old troops and a quantity of artillery, together with the imperial music, in front of the emperor. Cocal-tash-khan, Jany-khan, Aazem-khan, and other chiefs, took post on the right wing, and the Turany nobles, such as Mahomed Amin-khan, Abdul Semed-khan, and Chin-khalich-khan, commanded on the right. Raja Mahomed-khan, with Hafiz-ullah-khan, and some other generals with their corps acted as light troops. Reza Kuly-khan commanded the artillery.

14 Zilhaj, A.H. 1124. 28 December, A.D. 1712.

On the opposite side Ferokh-siar, in compliance with custom, placed himself in the centre of his troops, seated upon a lofty elephant, having Abd-

ullah-khan before him, who with many other commanders were opposed to Zulficar-khan, while Khan-zeman and Ali Asgar with Chebilram Nagar, were opposed to Cocal-tash-khan. The action was begun by Abdullah-khan, who advanced first against the Turany troops, and then inclining towards the artillery, pushed past it, and closed on the enemy's centre where was Jehandar-shah in person, Hussein Ali-khan (supported by Fateh Ali-khan, commander of Ferokh-siar's artillery, and by Zein-ed-din Ahmed-khan, son of Bahadur-khan Rohilla, as well as by the two illustrious brothers, Mir Ashref and Mir Mushref), directed his attack against Zulficar-khan. This attack was steadily received by the imperialists, and Ferokh-siar's troops fell into confusion. They were slain in heaps, and his bravest officers as well as his oldest soldiers mowed down in his presence, covered the field of battle with their bodies. Hussein Ali-khan, seeing how his best troops had suffered, closed at once according to the custom of good troops in Hindostan, and jumping down from his elephant, he headed his men and engaged hand to hand. A number of brave soldiers who followed performed prodigies of valour.

At length, Hussein Ali-khan having received several wounds, fell senseless on the ground and was trampled under foot. His brother Abdullah-

khan had no better fortune in attacking the Turanies; he was received by clouds of arrows, which threw his troops into confusion, and caused them to separate into several bodies, each of which was opposed to a body of the enemy. Abdullah-khan, while thus exerting himself in the hottest part of the engagement, was carried away by the crowd without knowing whither, until he found himself amongst a body of about three hundred of his own troopers parted from the standard-bearing elephant, and at a distance from the main body of his division. It was at this moment he saw himself singled out by one of the enemy's generals, who proved to be the same Seid Abdul-ghaffar who had sustained so shameful a defeat at Ilahabad. He proclaimed aloud who he was, and discharged an arrow at Abdullah-khan; the latter was as quick as he, and lodged an arrow in his enemy's breast. The general finding himself dangerously wounded, quitted the field and retired to a distance. Luckily for Abdullah-khan, he was joined at this critical moment by a considerable body of his troops, with which he gained an eminence, from whence he no sooner descried Jehandar-shah in the midst of his guards than he charged up to him, opening his way with showers of arrows; availing himself of the disorder into which the enemy was thrown, he penetrated as far as

the female elephants of the seraglio. The emperor was himself carried off by an elephant that became unruly, and unable to command his troops, he found himself in the midst of a number of war elephants, which having become furious were engaging each other, and exhibited an awful scene. Lal-koor's female elephant taking fright turned about, and fled followed by multitudes of soldiers, who sought to get out of the reach of the enemy's arrows. This confused mass of men and elephants falling back upon two divisions that yet stood their ground, now threw their ranks into confusion, and bore them down. The emperor unable to make a stand and borne off upon an ungovernable elephant, was closely pursued by Abdullah-khan, whose troops now joined him from all sides. This general, without giving the enemy time to rally, carried every thing before him, and the imperial troops were flying on all sides. Cocal-tash-khan, who with his division made an effort to cover Jehandar-shah's retreat, was encountered by Khan-zeman and Chebilram, who quitting the position assigned to them at the beginning of the action, drove Cocal-tash-khan's troops before them, and he was wounded in several places. Here was slain Reza Kuly-khan, commander of the imperial artillery; as also Janykhan, and Mokhtyar-khan. Aazem-khan, the brother of Cocal-tash-khan, though wounded, came up to the

emperor, who finding matters past recovery, thought now of his mistress Lal-koor, and taking her with him, he retreated in the dusk of the evening towards Acberabad. Such was the state of things with the emperor; but with Zulficar-khan they bore a very different aspect. This general, undismayed by the general discomfiture, had maintained his ground, and he even intended to renew the action as soon as he could bring either the emperor or his son Eiz-ed-din to shew themselves at the head of the troops, but all his endeavours to deserve them proved abortive, and several intelligent persons, who were prevailed on by dint of money and promises to go in search, came back without getting any intelligence of them. All his efforts to recover the day and to drive the imperialists from the field failed, and the music of victory already filled the air from the enemy's army. On the other hand, officers of all ranks surrounded Ferokh-siar, and addressed him with their congratulations. This joy, however, was mingled with the uneasiness he felt on observing that Zulficar-khan, surrounded by a strong body of veterans and by some artillery, did not quit the field of battle. At last Ferokh-siar sent him this message: "He who pretended to the empire has relinquished the throne and fled: have you any pretensions yourself that you tarry so long after him? if you have, it is another affair:

but if you have not, and you are only desirous of having an emperor of the house of Aurengzib, what objections can you have to my being that prince, instead of Moiz-ed-din Jehandar-shah?" This message informed Zulficar-khan that things were past remedy, he marched off therefore at the head of his troops in good order, maintaining, however, so respectable a front that no one ventured to follow him. The emperor meanwhile passed the night at Acberabad, where he shaved his beard like a Hindu, changed his apparel for a disguise, and taking his mistress Lal-koor with him, he fled by night towards the capital, having around his person a number of people of all sorts personally attached to him. On his arrival, instead of going to the citadel, he went to the palace of the old vezir, Assed-khan, who immediately seized and confined him. Hardly had he been secured when Zulficar-khan himself arrived.

Abdullah-khan on seeing the field clear of enemies, ordered strict search to be made for his brother, who was at last found lying on the ground speechless and senseless. This fortunate discovery was made by two of his attendants, one of whom remained by him, whilst the other went to give intelligence of the circumstance. Abdullah-khan was so overjoyed, that he took off all the jewels he had on his person, and presented them

to the man who brought him the welcome news. Another account says, that on the servants discovering their master, they found him guarded by two officers at the head of a body of troops. These were Leshker Ali-khan and Mokhtyar-khan, who were personally attached to Hussein Ali-khan. A third account by Mahomed Hashem, the son of Khwaja Mir-khafi, a nobleman of distinction, who wrote the history of the family of Timur, states that Hussein Ali-khan having received several dangerous wounds, had fallen senseless on the ground, where he had been stripped stark-naked, and it was in that condition that his servants found him speechless, after a laborious search. On receiving some assistance, he recovered his senses so far as to hear with pleasure of the victory of his party; nevertheless it was with much difficulty he was put in a palky and conveyed to his brother, who on seeing him so unexpectedly, prostrated himself on the ground and returned thanks to Providence for his safety.

Zulficar-khan, on arriving at his father's palace, disapproved of the seizure of the emperor's person, and wanted to bring him again into the field to try a second time the fortune of war; for, as he had been so instrumental in raising Jehandar-shah, and in destroying Azim-ush-shan, the father of Ferokh-siar, he apprehended nothing but severity

from his son, and wanted to retire into the Deckan, a rich country, where his power was absolute, and where he thought himself capable of resisting the new emperor. His father interposing his parental authority, and adding entreaties and prayers, prevailed on his son to lay aside all thoughts of opposition, and to submit quietly to the new prince —a fatal acquiescence, which so prudent a man would have never thought of, had he not been under the influence of a fatality that hurried to a termination Assed-khan's prosperity, and the extinction of his family and the destruction of his beloved son. The old vezir, without any certainty of being well-received, and even at the imminent risk of his own life as well as that of his son, went to Ferokh-siar's court, trusting to the credit he had acquired in Aurengzib's family, and to the high regard constantly shewn him by both that prince and his successors.

Ferokh-siar was yet on the field of battle, when he resolved to assume the crown instantly; and on Thursday, being the fifteenth Zilhaj, in the year 1124, he ascended the throne at day-break, and gave public audience. Immediately after his inauguration, Abdullah-khan introduced Chin-khalich-khan, Abdul-semed-khan, and Mahomed Amin-khan, with all the Turany nobles. These generals paid their homage to the new emperor,

15 Zilhaj, A.H. 1124. 1 January, A.D. 1713.

wished him long life and a prosperous reign, and were received with distinction and pardoned: at the same time Abdullah-khan, attended by Lutf-ullah-khan Sadik, and some other chiefs of distinction, received orders to depart immediately for the capital, in order to compose the minds of the people, and to establish order and tranquillity throughout the country. He had likewise a commission to assume charge of the imperial palace and citadel, and chiefly of the princes of the blood confined therein. Ferokh-siar himself followed in

14 Muharrem, A.H. 1125. 30 January, A.D. 1713.

a week after, and on the fourteenth of Muharrem he encamped close to the capital of Bara-palla, where, having sent for Abdullah-khan, he conferred on him the rank and command of seven thousand horse, bestowed upon him the title of Kutb-ul-mulk, and raised him to the dignity of vezir. His brother, Hussein Ali-khan, was honoured with the title of Ehtimam-el-mulk, and was raised to the rank and command of seven thousand horse, to which was superadded the dignity of Emir-ul-omrah, as well as the high office of commander-in-chief of the forces. Mahomed Amin-khan was made second in command, with the addition of a thousand horse to his actual command, and he received the title of Imad-ud-doulah. Chin-khalich-khan, who enjoyed already the command and rank of five thousand horse, was raised to that of seven,

and being gratified with the title of Nizam-el-mulk, was invested with the vice-royalty of Deckan, in lieu of Daud-khan Peny, who acted as the lieutenant of Zulficar-khan. Daud-khan was transferred from the government of the Deckan to that of Guzerat. Khwaja Hussein was honoured with the title of Semsam-ed-doula, and received the surname of Khan-dowran. He was promoted to the rank of seven thousand, and received the command of six thousand horse. Ahmed-beg Coca, who had signalized himself by much activity, and had rendered important services, was honoured with titles, promoted to the rank of six thousand horse, with the command of five, and appointed third in command in the army.

There was, however, one person who rose more suddenly than all others to the highest dignities, and whose elevation had so much influence over the politics of Ferokh-siar's reign. This was Kazy Abdullah, the chief judge of Dacca. He was known for having executed with success several commissions of consequence, and especially for having gained over the Turany chiefs, he being a Turany himself. Kazy Abdullah now appeared at court, where he was dignified with the high title of Amir-jumlah, and was created Khan-khanan; he was also promoted to the command and rank of seven thousand horse, and acquired the utmost

confidence of the new monarch. The latter seemed to have no ear but for him, and entrusted him with his private signet, although, ostensibly, he had no other office than that of judge of Dacca. Mahomed-jafer, the secretary of state, who already enjoyed several offices, now received the title of Takerrub-khan, and to his present duties was added that of lord high steward. Seif-khan, a relation of Abdullah-khan, was created master of the horse, and offices and governments were bestowed on that minister's two younger brothers, as well as on all those who anticipated promotion. Abdullah-khan, the new vezir, diligently applied himself to the duties of his office, in curbing the insolence which some chiefs had assumed during the confusion inevitable in civil wars. Happy had it been for the emperor had he directed his mind to that object, instead of paving the way for his own ruin, by demolishing most of the ancient families, and especially that of the venerable Assed-khan, the late vezir, who was so universally respected.

Assed-khan marched with his son to the imperial camp at Barapalla; where they no sooner arrived than they expressed a desire of paying their respects to the new emperor. This was precisely the course which the new favourite, Amir-jumlah, desired. He was jealous of all the old nobility, and formed the project of putting down

every one of them, in order to make room for his own friends. Against no one was his hatred more excessive than against Zulficar-khan, whose destruction he sought. Amir-jumlah, however, could have effected but little, had Zulficar-khan only attended to the advice of Hussein Ali-khan, who had generously offered his aid, and had solemnly assured him that if he chose to be introduced through his mediation, not a hair of his head should be touched. This offer did not long remain secret, and Amir-jumlah, who perceived all the consequences of a union between Zulficar-khan and the Seids, exerted himself to oppose it. For this purpose he employed the new lord high-steward Takerrub-khan, who being a Mogul as well as Zulficar-khan, he thought he might have more influence with that chief. He was directed to persuade Zulficar-khan that the emperor was secretly dissatisfied with the excessive power assumed by the two Seid brothers; that to make his peace through their means would be to lean on a rotten reed: adding, "What need indeed is there of any mediation? It is quite certain, that as soon as you shall have paid your respects, you will yourself become an object of solicitation to all the courtiers and nobles of the empire. Your dignities and influence will be augmented by the emperor, who has the highest opinion of your talents; and I know he intends to

make use of them, and expects the greatest service from your attachment." This language had the desired effect; and oaths of sincerity and attachment having been mutually exchanged, both by father and son, with Takerrub-khan, they seemed to give their confidence to the messenger. The old man was in earnest; but the son could not divest his mind of doubts of the emperor's intentions, as well as of his minister. To dispel these, Amir-jumlah went himself to Zulficar-khan, and after having pledged his oaths to him, he bound his hands together with a shawl, and introduced him to the emperor. In this condition he paid his obeisance to the new monarch, whilst the venerable Assed-khan, saying a few words in extenuation of his son's conduct, supplicated his forgiveness. The emperor, with every appearance of kindness, commanded his hands to be set at liberty, and a dress of honour to be brought in, with suitable jewels; he then dismissed the father, on account of his great age, but desired his son to remain in an outer tent for a few moments, as he had some questions of consequence to put to him, and some objects of moment on which he wished to have his advice. This unexpected proceeding rendered the old nobleman uneasy, and he went away in great anguish of mind. As to the distressed son, he gave up all for lost; but he was too far advanced

to recede, and did as he was bid. He was hardly seated, when the tent was surrounded by a number of men, employed by the emperor to taunt him with having been the cause of his father Azim-shah's death. Zulficar-khan, who, to all his innate loftiness of mind, and to his generous feelings, added an undaunted courage, answered the reproaches with haughtiness. The Calmuc Delachin-beg (now become Bahadur-dil-khan), who stood behind, seized this opportunity to throw a leathern thong round his neck, and whilst he was striving to disentangle the cord, a number of men rushed in and despatched him with their poignards. On that same day a number of men were despatched to the citadel of Dehli, where, having passed a leathern thong about the neck of Jehandar-shah, they strangled him also. After such horrid executions the emperor ventured to make a triumphal entry into the imperial palace, and people hoped all such frightful scenes were at an end; but as soon as he was settled therein, it being Tuesday the seventeenth Muharrem, in the 1125th year of the Hegira, he directed that Jehandar-shah's head should be fixed on a spear, and his body thrown across an elephant, to whose tail Zulficar-khan's body was made fast, in order that both bodies might be exposed throughout the most frequented parts of the city; they were then

17 Muharrem, A.H. 1125. 4 February, A.D. 1713.

thrown before the main gate of the citadel there to rot. Not satisfied with this barbarity, he ordered the venerable Assed-khan to be seized, and put in a palky with what clothes he might have on his back, and he required that, in that condition, he should follow the elephant in question, attended by all the ladies of his family in veiled carriages. After which, Assed-khan was confined for life in Khan-jehan's palace, and all his property, as well as that of his son, was confiscated. Whilst this mournful procession was proceeding round the principal streets, the emperor recollected that a Hindu of distinction, called Raja Sobachand, had been too free of speech: he ordered his tongue to be cut out, and his property to be seized. The operation was performed in all its rigour, and, what is singular, he could speak ever after, at least so is the general report.* It was by such bloody proceedings that Ferokh-siar marked the first day of his reign. Nor was Zulficar-khan the only victim he sacrificed to his resentment or fear: most of the nobles of the old court underwent the same treatment, and finished their days by

* The translator, in common with many other witnesses, some of whom are still living, heard and understood the conversation of a Zend nobleman in Persia, whose tongue had been cut out by the roots, and he has understood that the circumstance is not very uncommon in the Turkish dominions at the present day.

the bow-string, and even the princes of the blood were as mercilessly treated. Eiz-ed-din, son of the late Ali-tebar, grandson of the late Aazem-shah, and even the young Homayun-bakht, younger brother of Ferokh-siar himself, were deprived of sight by a red-hot needle drawn across their eyes. So many cruelties at the commencement of a reign, and so many murders unnecessarily perpetrated, inspired such terror into the minds of every one, from the highest to the lowest, that people with the image of instant death constantly before their eyes, did not think themselves safe for one single day; so that such persons as were by their stations or by the duties of their offices obliged to attend daily at court, never failed on returning home alive to receive the congratulations of their equals, and the offerings of their inferiors; and nothing was so common on coming home safe, as to distribute, late at night, money to the needy and alms to the hungry, just as it is customary for people to do when they have escaped from some imminent peril.

It was in the midst of these proceedings that people perceived a coolness between the emperor and the two Seids; those two potent nobles who had saved his life at the risk of their own, and who had raised him to the throne. The general discontents now grew to a great height, so much

so indeed, that in their consequences they produced the ruin of the imperial family, and the desolation of the whole empire. The first spark of that fire that has since blazed out, and caused such a conflagration all over Hindoostan, was perceived on the following occasion. Abdullah-khan, immediately after the battle of Agra, had been despatched to the capital with orders to conciliate the minds of the people there, and to restore affairs to their usual channel. Amongst other arrangements he bestowed the divani of the khalisah office, or first lord of the treasury, on Lutfullah-khan Sadik, the person associated with him in that commission; he also confirmed Seid Amjed-khan in the office of grand-almoner, with which that nobleman had been invested so early as in the reign of Bahadur-shah. Unfortunately, whilst he was bestowing these offices in virtue of his commission and office of vezir, the emperor was disposing of the very same places on the plains of Acberabad, where he gave the superintendence of the treasury to Chebilram Nagar, and the office of almoner to Afzul-khan, who had once been tutor to his children.

Some days after the emperor arrived at the capital, and upon his being required to confirm some offices of state, and some promotions, particularly those two important ones, a long discussion

ensued between him and the minister. The latter observed, "that if in the very beginning of his administration a wound should be given to his authority, he could no longer pretend to hold so responsible an office with credit to himself, or advantage to the public;" on the other hand, Amir-jumlah inculcated into the mind of the emperor, that, be the powers ever so ample which sovereigns found it sometimes expedient to delegate to any of their servants for a time, still it would never answer that a minister should forget himself so far, as to dispose of such offices of his own accord, without having previously obtained the king's assent.

It was at last agreed that the khalisah should remain with Lutf-ullah-khan Sadik, and that Afzal-khan should be made almoner. This agreement, which seemed to have effected a reconciliation, did not fail to leave a rancorous impression on both sides. Ferokh-siar had neither the genius, the resolution, nor the penetration requisite for an emperor. He was mean-spirited, low-minded, and sordid; or, if at any time he chanced to shew any liberality, it was towards low, vile people, equally destitute of morals and capacity, when he would thoughtlessly lavish on them presents which they did not know how to use, and offices which they were unable to fill. Ferokh-siar, who was

fond of keeping low company, naturally became attached to such fellows as Etikad-khan, and a set of people on a par with him. The truth is, that being totally unfit to conduct himself with respectability, he was more so to regulate the affairs of an empire; and what was still more unfortunate, Amir-jumlah, his favourite, a man of much ambition and of high pretensions, was stupid and obstinate, and unfit for any public office, though he wanted to supersede all the chiefs of the empire. This unworthy favourite, who made nothing of pulling down and destroying the families of such persons as Assed-khan and Zulficar-khan, two men whose ancestors had been in possession of honours and immense wealth for the two last centuries, and had filled the highest dignities and offices of the state, now endeavoured to overthrow the Seids, two nobles who had conferred the greatest obligations on their king, and who now figured in the world as the principal men at the court. It was this which wounded the jealous mind of Amir-jumlah, and which planted daggers in his rancorous heart.

However, the disease that had fastened on the vitals of the state would have never risen to such head had not the administration of the most important affairs been neglected by the very persons at the head of the empire. The vezir Abdullah-

khan was a man of abilities indeed, but so passionately fond of women, so addicted to feasting, music, and dancing, as well as to all kinds of pleasures, and so desirous of ease, that he left the whole management, both of his immense household and of his high office, to one Ratan Chand, a man who had been once a retail shopkeeper, and who, at all events, was too enthusiastic in his false religion* to discharge dispassionately all the duties of his station, and too narrow-minded to feel the delicacy of his office, and to act in a manner suited to it; and yet this was the man who, under his master's name, carried every thing with a high hand, and enjoyed an uncontrouled influence all over Hindoostan. Thus, in consequence of incapacity on the part of the king, and culpable neglect on the part of the minister, enmities arose which crushed the columns of the throne of Baber under their weight, involving in its ruin the fall of the families of the two Seids, and ultimately changing the very constitution of the government.

Amir-jumlah and the emperor, with some others, contrived a scheme for separating the two Seid brothers, whose union and presence appeared to them too formidable. It was proposed to Hussein Ali-khan, the youngest, to undertake an expedition against Raja Ajit Sing Rahtore, a powerful Hindu

* Ratan Chand was a Hindu, as the reader may suppose.

prince, who since the demise of Aurengzib had assumed independence, and had been guilty of some unwarrantable actions, such as demolishing mosques, in order to raise idol-temples on their ruins in the very middle of his capital, Oodipoor. Such excesses had necessarily passed unnoticed during the reign of Bahadur-shah, who being constantly involved in civil wars, or busily engaged against the Siks, had no time to spare for so inferior an object. The Siks formed a large body, who, from a fraternity of mendicants, had in his time become a formidable army, which plundered and desolated the whole province of Lahore.* Hussein Ali-khan, fond of glory and military achievements, accepted the command, and he set out at the head of a numerous well-appointed host, accompanied by a well-served train of artillery. Arrived in the Raja's country he found him gone into a difficult mountainous tract, where he had concealed his

* This body, composed for the most part of the Jatt race, has a faith peculiar to itself. Their great teacher, Guru Nanac, established a code of morals founded on Deism, and permitted the reception of converts of all classes into the society. From small beginnings at the commencement of the eighteenth century, the Siks now form a powerful nation, and their chief, Ranjit-sing, at the head of an army of a hundred thousand men, is perhaps the only formidable enemy the British nation in India has to apprehend. Lahore is the capital of the present king, who has conquered Cashmere, Multan and Cabul, in addition to the Penjab, during his own reign.

family, his treasures, and even his troops, not conceiving himself a match for so powerful an army; but what is singular, is, that the Hindu prince was actually receiving letters from the capital, in which the emperor exhorted him to stand upon his defence, and to crush the invader by every means in his power. The Raja, mistrustful of these proceedings, thought it more politic to come to terms and to obtain a pardon openly; but he would not have gained his object easily, if at all, had not Hussein Ali-khan, at this very time, received intelligence that the enemies of his family had availed themselves of the opportunity afforded by his absence, to spread a snare for entrapping his elder brother, Abdullah-khan. The latter, who had no certain information but who suspected mischief, sent letter after letter to request his brother's immediate attendance. These letters rendered Hussein Ali-khan exceedingly anxious, and he thought it advisable to listen to the Raja's proposals and grant him terms. These were, that he should send his son to humble himself on his father's name, before the imperial general, and that he should forward his daughter to the imperial seraglio, with a large sum of money and suitable presents.

Hussein Ali-khan having thus put an end to the war, returned to the capital, where his arrival raised a fresh ferment. The two brothers, in con-

sequence of their influence and of their office, were applied to on every affair, civil and military, but the public business was conducted through Amir-jumlah, who on his part endeavoured to render them as odious as possible; and in order to conciliate the favour of the public, he made a point to use dispatch in whatever application was made to him. For (besides his being keeper of the privy seal) he had so far engrossed his master's affection, that the latter had declared more than once in full court, that Amir-jumlah's word and sign-manual were Ferokh-siar's word and sign-manual. Amir-jumlah found so much account in forwarding the business of individuals, that he became offensive to the vezir Abdullah-khan and his deputy Ratan Chand, who so soon as he perceived the hand of Amir-jumlah in any affair, or his signet on any patent, he was sure to put it aside for the time without letting it pass the seals of office; whereas, whoever made a suitable present to himself, and another to his master, was certain of carrying his point with dispatch. Such conduct could not fail to provoke the emperor. It must be confessed that this Hindu conceived such high notions of himself, both on account of his immense wealth and the great influence of his master, that he had become intolerably insolent, which rendered him obnoxious to the emperor, the more so as by representing

Amir-jumlah's conduct to be the result of design and craft, he had made him odious to both the brothers.

Amir-jumlah on his part was perpetually dropping expressions in the emperor's presence, which had a tendency to depreciate the two brothers, whom he represented as overbearing, and whose behaviour he insinuated was disrespectful, and strongly savoured of independence. Moreover, he reflected occasionally upon their abilities, as being wholly inadequate to the high posts they pretended to fill. By such insinuations the emperor had become so suspicious and fearful, that he formed the design of seizing Abdullah-khan's person. It was for this purpose that he frequently came out of the citadel, sometimes under pretence of hunting, and sometimes under that of taking exercise in those delightful country-seats which adorn the suburbs of Dehli, more especially in Mohsen-khan's gardens. On these occasions he had the art to vary his pretences for thus frequently collecting together his retinue:* he was still too undecided and too faint-hearted to act, nor did all his projects produce any other effect than that of increasing the mutual aversion between himself and his minister. It is generally believed

* The emperor's ordinary retinue consisted of from one thousand to two thousand cavalry.

that the empress mother herself, out of regard to the oath she had taken upon the Koran at Azimabad Patna, and from scruples of conscience, more than once gave the two brothers secret advice of the plots forming against them. It was under such circumstances that Hussein Ali-khan solicited from the emperor the viceroyalty of the Deckan; not that he intended to remain there himself, but he expected that the immense revenue derivable from so rich a government would enable him to maintain his footing at court. His object was only to place therein, as his lieutenant, the famous Daud-khan Peny, who was to remit to him the same sums which he used to pay to Zulficar-khan. This was the very reverse of what the emperor and Amir-jumlah desired, for they reckoned that he would repair to that rich, but distant country, and leave his brother alone. This did not suit Hussein Ali-khan's purpose, who thought it highly imprudent to leave his brother exposed to the resentment of the emperor, and to all the machinations of his enemies. This difference of opinion gave rise to a number of peevish expressions from both parties, and matters gained such a height, that the two brothers henceforward abstained from appearing at court, and commenced to fortify their palaces, which they filled with troops. The emperor, on hearing of this, sent for

Amir-jumlah, Mahomed Amin-khan, Khan Douran, and some others, with whom he held councils day and night, without coming to any decision; for he was so irresolute, and so faint-hearted, that he could determine on nothing. Meanwhile, the report of these dissensions spread far and near, and occasioned such a dearth of all kinds of supplies in the capital, that the inhabitants, as well as travellers, found it difficult to obtain the necessaries of life; on which account, letters and messages were continually passing and repassing between the emperor and the two brothers. God knows how far the distresses of the poor might have been carried, had not the empress mother* been so affected by what she heard of their miseries, that she came out of the palace and visited Abdullah-khan, on whose mind she gained sufficient influence to induce him to be reconciled to the emperor, on condition that the two brothers, on going to pay their respects, should be at liberty to take such precautions for their own safety as they should deem necessary, after which they should attend at court as heretofore. The two brothers now appeared before the emperor, implored his forgiveness for the errors of their past conduct, and bitterly com-

* Great must have been the distress to justify a Mussulman princess, whatever her age, going openly to visit a minister; but we find throughout the Indian history, frequent disregard of forms when called for, to obtain essential objects.

plained of his permitting certain insinuations to fill his imperial mind with suspicions, and to estrange his royal mind from his zealous and faithful servants. Growing warm with the subject, they both loosened their sabres from their sides, and placed them at the emperor's feet, while the eldest went on with the following address: "If we be guilty, here are our two heads, and there are our swords; or if remembrance of our past services should render our execution unwelcome, divest us of our offices, and dismiss us altogether from your service, that we may be permitted to make a journey to the house of God,* by which we may reap eternal honours in visiting the tomb of the prince of men, our illustrious ancestor,† Ali, on whom be peace for ever and ever! Or if your majesty chooses to require further services from us, and to keep us near your sacred person, vouchsafe to dismiss your suspicions, and cease to listen to the suggestions of a set of covetous, envious, and designing tale-tellers, who are perpetually aiming at the lives of your faithful servants, without once regarding how much blood we have spilt in the imperial cause. Be reconciled, Sire, we pray you, to these your two approved

* Mecca.

† All Seids are supposed to be lineally descended from Ali the cousin, and Fatima the daughter, through their two sons Hassan and Hussein, the latter of whom fell at Kerbella.

servants, and cease to harbour sentiments equally repugnant to that sense of gratitude so natural to generous minds, and to the stability of a compact consecrated by the most solemn oaths."

This scene seemed to affect the emperor, and it produced a momentary reconciliation. After many conferences, it was agreed that the only way to put an end to these dissensions was to part the two adversaries. Amir-jumlah was ordered to quit the court, and to repair to Azimabad Patna, the government of which was given him for an honourable exile, and Hussein Ali-khan agreed to set out for his viceroyalty of the Deckan, where nothing but his presence could curb the refractory chiefs of those countries, and give confidence to those that had submitted. This arrangement, which satisfied both parties, was not palatable to Amir-jumlah, who thought himself sacrificed to the resentment of the two brothers; whereas, in reality, the whole intention of the emperor was to increase his favourite's means of power, and to exasperate his mind against his rivals. Hussein Ali-khan's patent was now drawn up, and orders were issued to the several governors of provinces and fortresses throughout the six and a half soobadaries or provinces of the Deckan, in whatever station they might be, to submit to the new viceroy, and to be henceforth obedient to his commands. Two letters

of recal were likewise despatched; one to Chin-khalich-khan Nizam-ul-mulk, the present viceroy of the Deckan, to repair to the presence; and the other to Daud-khan Peny, governor of Guzerat, requiring him to repair to Boorhanpoor, there to await the new viceroy's arrival, whose commands he was to obey. Such were the contents of the public letters; but a secret communication was at the same time conveyed to Daud-khan, enjoining him to lay in wait with a strong army at Boorhanpoor, in order to destroy Hussein Ali-khan and his troops, with a promise that he should himself be appointed viceroy in case of his success. After despatching these secret instructions, the emperor resolved to celebrate his nuptials with Ajit Sing's daughter, as we shall soon relate; but as Daud-khan Peny is about to cut so great a figure in our history, it will be as well to give in this place some account of him, and of the disturbances to which his imprudence had given rise between the Mussulmans and Hindus of Ahmed-abad in Guzerat.

In the second year of that officer's administration, which was likewise the first of the emperor's reign, it happened that in the night in which the Hindus perform the ceremony of the Huli, one of them was going to do so in his own house-yard, a small part of which was connected with some Mussulman's houses, when the latter objected to it.

The Hindu, having pleaded that every man was master of his own house, paid no regard to the objection, and finished his ceremony. The very next day the Mussulman, turning the Hindu's argument against himself, brought a cow within that very yard, and killed her for the purpose of distributing beef to the poor, as it was the anniversary of the death of the saint Ali. This action brought upon them all the Hindus of that quarter, who having overpowered the Mussulmans, obliged them to fly for their lives, and to conceal themselves in their houses. Transported by religious fury, the Hindus sought out the butcher who had slaughtered the cow; but not finding him, they dragged his son, an innocent youth of fourteen, into that very yard, and killed him. The Mussulmans, shocked at the outrage, created an outcry throughout the city, and drew after them multitudes of the Mussulman inhabitants, among whom were some thousands of Daud-khan Peny's Afghan soldiers. The whole now repaired to the kazy (the judge), who did not chuse to meddle in the affair when he knew that the governor had taken side with the Hindus, and shut his door. This only tended to incense the Mussulmans the more, who carried away by their fury, and possibly urged on by the kazy himself, demolished and burned his gate, and having seized his person, they proceeded to set

fire to the shops in the market-place, and to many Hindu houses. They would have gone on burning and destroying, had they not been opposed by one Capur Chand, a jewel merchant, much in favour with the governor, and a violent opponent of the Mussulmans. This man, seeing his own house in danger, armed himself and friends, shut the gate and defended it. He placed musketeers over the gate, opened loop-holes through the parapets, and in the ensuing fray numbers of lives were lost. The disturbance continued for some days, all the shops were shut, and business was at a stand. At length the tumult subsided, the Mussulmans, who thought themselves aggrieved, deputed three persons of character to carry their complaints to court. These were the very men that had been selected on a former occasion to manage an accommodation between the Mussulmans on one side and the governor and Hindus on the other. They were, Shah Abdul-vahid, Shah Mahomed Ali (an eminent preacher), and Abdul-aziz. Daud-khan, who found himself identified in this affair, deputed Capur Chand, after having put into his hand a narrative of the whole transaction, signed by the governor, the kazy, the commander of the troops, and all the crown officers, which certified that the Hindus were not in the wrong, and that the Mussulmans were the aggressors. As soon as the three

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deputies arrived at the capital, they were cast into prison through the influence of Ratan Chand, who found means to stifle their complaints. And God only knows how long these innocent persons had remained in confinement, had not Khwaja Mahomed Jafer, a dervish, chanced to hear of them and use his interest in their behalf. This holy man was no less a person than brother to Khan Douran, one of the principal nobles of the court; a pious man, who having devoted himself to God, had renounced the world and lived retired. It was in his retreat that he heard of Ratan Chand's cruel partiality, and in consequence he requested his brother to procure the release of those unfortunate persons. This conduct made such an impression upon one of them, Shah Mahomed Ali, that from that moment he attached himself for ever after to his benefactor.

We shall now say a few words about the emperor's nuptials with the daughter of the Hindu prince Raja Ajit Sing. Her father, in dismissing her, gave into her hands a number of important papers to deliver to the emperor, among which were the letters and order he had received for opposing and destroying Hussein Ali-khan. Whether during the nobleman's journey to court, or during the Hindu prince's residence in his palace, is not known, but it is certain that Hussein Ali-

khan found means to get possession of these papers, and also to appease the inquietude of the princess on finding that they had been in his hands. These papers were subsequently produced by the two brothers to the emperor, who made an apology to them, and his mother effected a reconciliation between her son and the Seids. This explanation put an end to the dissension, and Amir-jumlah's exile from court induced the emperor to celebrate his nuptials with the Rana, after which it had been agreed that Hussein Ali-khan should set out for his government in the Deckan.

The emperor commanded his household-officers to make the necessary preparations for their marriage. Hussein Ali-khan conceiving his honour concerned in rendering the ceremony very splendid, as the princess had been brought to court through his means, and had been all this while lodged in his palace, and treated as his own daughter, he made it a point to give to that solemnity all the magnificence for which Hindoostan is famous. He accordingly made such preparations both for the bride and the bridegroom, as exceeded all that had ever been heard of in the capital, or that had been made for the greatest rajas and kings of the Deckan, or even for the magnificent emperors of Hindoostan. The furniture, jewels and illuminations, surpassed by far all those prepared by the

emperor himself. As soon as night came on, an infinity of lights in imitation of stars threw out at once such a blaze, as seemed to dispute pre-eminence with the luminous firmament itself, and to reproach it with its inferior twinkling; then again artificial parterres, by the variety of their colours, gave the beholder an idea of the celebrated gardens of Irem,* exhibitions of all sorts connected with splendid entertainments enabled the lowest man in the city to partake of them. Surprise, delight and hilarity pervaded all classes, and such was the concourse of spectators, that the streets and markets of the immense city of Dehli seemed to have become narrower and scarcely able to contain them. At last, after several days, the emperor, attended by his whole court, repaired to Hussein Ali-khan's palace, where an illustrious assembly waited to receive him; and the reading of the marriage-ritual having closed the ceremony, the emperor took his bride away to his imperial habitation. This event occurred on Thursday the 22d of Zilhaj, in the year of the Hegira 1127. 22 Zilhaj, A.H. 1127. 7 December, A.D. 1715.

Who would have thought that such a scene of pleasure and universal joy, would have been followed so shortly by religious dissensions? Shah Abdullah, a dervish from Multan, having come to the capital on some business, took up his abode

* The garden of Paradise.

near the great mosque, where he often preached to crowded audiences, among whom he soon acquired so much celebrity, that the very passages to that mosque were always thronged. Once, he went to pay a visit to Khwaja Jafer, the brother of the minister, Khan Douran, of whom we have already spoken; and, on observing that some of the latter's followers and disciples saluted him by prostrating themselves, and also that the singers who frequented that holy retreat made it a practice to sing verses in honour of the Prophet and his sacred offspring, he felt scandalized, and remarked that prostration was due to God alone, and consequently indecent towards man; that to listen to songs and verses in matters of religion, was forbidden; and that to content oneself with a few praises in honour of the prophet in order to launch out in the praises of his descendants, without saying a word of his four venerable successors, was repugnant to the true principles of Islam. Khwaja Jafer answered, that, as religious persons, as well as their followers, acknowledge the omnipresence of no being but that of God, it was impossible that they should require prostration to be made to any other being, but that men who in their religious zeal fancied God to be every where present, and therefore prostrated themselves on that ground and kissed it devoutly, could not be condemned.

"As to the singing, and the verses of public singers, these people sing nothing but what they have learned from their masters, in which I do not interfere; and if you know of any verses in praise of the four successors of the Prophet,* pray impart them to these people, that they may sing them, and adopt the practice at all times and in all places." This answer did not satisfy Shah Abdullah, who, being opposed to the Shiah† sect, went away discontented, and, on the next Friday, he reflected on Khwaja Jafer, and openly condemned his faith. He added some invidious assertions: for instance, that Ali Murtaza, the son of Abu-talib, was not within the pale of the saints—that it was improper to call him a Seid—and that the expression of 'five pure bodies'‡ was contrary to the true principles of the faith; for whoever should admit it, would thereby exclude the three

* The khalif Abu Becr.
— Omar.
— Othman.
— Ali.

† The Shiahs deny the legitimate titles of the three first khalifs, but consider Ali to be the first real khalif, and that his descendants by Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet, partake in some degree of the sanctity of the ancestors.

‡ By the five pure bodies, or holy personages, are meant,
The prophet Mahomet.
His daughter Fatima;
His son-in-law Ali;
And their sons Hassan and Hussein.

first khalifs as not being equally pure. He added several other expressions, all tending to depreciate the Shiah sect, and to cast reflections upon its tenets and practice. Khwaja Jafer, on hearing of that sermon, sent him word that to drop such expressions from the pulpit was dissonant from the current belief, and repugnant to the custom and usages of the faith; that it must give offence, and might possibly excite dissensions. He observed that if he would come to his humble cottage, or to any other place where a number of learned persons should be assembled, he flattered himself that the trouble he would be put to would not be without advantage, as he might find an opportunity of having his doubts removed by reason and by the authority of tradition. This message was received with peevishness and resentment; and, a few days after, a multitude of thoughtless young men, of Persian extraction, having assembled at the mosque, placed themselves at sermon-time opposite the preachers, with their beads and amulets of Kerbella-clay* before them, using at the same time threatening gestures. This behaviour was resented by two or three thousand followers of the

* Kerbella, in Mesopotamia, is the spot where are entombed the remains of Hussein, who fell in his contest against Ziad, the son of Moavia, and rosaries formed of the clay of his tomb are held in high estimation by the Shiahs, and are supposed to possess magical qualities.

Sunny sect, who suspecting this scene to have been concerted by Khwaja Jafer, and that it was intended to set their preacher at defiance, took fire, and falling upon the young men with impious and blasphemous reproaches, drove them out of the mosque. This affair might have ended there; but an ill-fated Hindu, who was a military man of some character, and had come to hear the sermon, chancing to go out immediately after them, was observed by one of the servants of the mosque, who taking him to be one of those that had just given so much offence, ran after him with the intention to stop or kill him; but the Hindu having turned round, and in self-defence having killed his assailant, he was immediately beset by some others, who hacked him to pieces; nor would the multitude, for three days together, suffer his body to be removed, being in expectation of getting some further light from such as might come to take him away. After this unhappy affair, some of the most zealous of the preacher's followers having gained access to the principal courtiers, and through them to the throne, went in a body to the emperor, and complained that Khwaja Jafer wanted to create a schism in the Sunny sect, similar to that which had been excited in the reign of Bahadur-shah, when that prince attempted to introduce the words "Ali is heir to God's elect"

into the Mussulman creed; and they added, that as something still more serious seemed to be in agitation, it was better that the leader should be commanded to quit the capital.

One would hardly believe that so small a matter should have raised such a commotion in that immense city: for whereas, heretofore, it was common enough to see professed singers going about the streets, singing the praises of the pure and holy family, and numbers even of learned men used often to stop and to take pleasure in hearing their music; yet now matters were so altered, that such singers were sure of being hooted, and accused of impiety and blasphemy. The emperor, on hearing of this disturbance, consulted the kazy Sheriat-ullah-khan on the subject, as the most eminent divine that attended the court. He answered, that what Shah Abdullah had said would not stand the test of examination with the best treatises on the Sunny tenets, and that therefore it would be difficult to convict Khwaja Jafer of heterodoxy; but as, on the other hand, it would be proper to put an end to this ferment, he gave it as his private opinion that the Khwaja should be required to change his abode, by retiring to the suburbs. This opinion was no sooner rumoured abroad than Khan Douran, one of the principal nobles of the court, having sent for the preacher,

inquired of him what might be his object in coming so far to the capital. Khan Douran despatched his business in a few days, and having wished him a prosperous journey to Multan, his native country, he returned thither. In this manner the commotion, which bore a threatening aspect, subsided at once.

In the year 1128 of the Hegira, being the fifth of Ferokh-siar's reign, a bloody action took place in the plains of the Penjab, between the Siks and the Imperialists, in which the latter, commanded by Abdul-semed-khan, viceroy of that province, gave those freebooters a signal defeat, and their general, Benda, fell into the victor's hands. This barbarian, whom nature had formed for a butcher, trusting to the numbers and repeated successes of those other butchers he commanded, had inflicted upon God's creatures cruelties exceeding all belief, and had laid waste the whole province of Lahore. Flushed with these victories, he even aspired to a crown. Benda was of the Sik persuasion, attached to the tenets of Guru Govind. These people, from their birth, or from the moment of their admission, if they enter as proselytes, never cut or shave either their beard or whiskers, or any hair whatever of their body. They form a particular society, which distinguishes itself by wearing blue garments, and going armed at all times. When a person is once admitted into that fraternity, they

A. H. 1128.
A. D. 1716.

make no scruple of associating with him, of whatever tribe, clan, or race he may have been hitherto, nor do they betray any of those scruples and prejudices so deeply rooted in the Hindu mind.* This sect or fraternity, which first became powerful about the latter end of Aurengzib's reign, has for its chief, Guru Govind, one of the successors of Nanec Guru, the founder of the sect. Nanec was the son of a grain merchant, of the Katri tribe, who in his youth was as remarkable for his good character as for the beauty of his person, and for his talents. Nor was he destitute of fortune. There was then, in those parts, a dervish of note, called Seid Hussein, a man of eloquence as well as of wealth, who having no children of his own, and being struck with the beauty of the young Nanec, conceived a great regard for him, and charged himself with his education. As the young man was early introduced to the knowledge of the most esteemed writings of Islam, and initiated into the principles of our most approved doctrines, he advanced so much in learning, and became so fond of his studies, that he made it a practice in his leisure hours, to translate literally and make notes and extracts of our moral maxims. Those which made the deepest impression upon him were written in

* This alludes to the touching or eating with persons of impure casts, in regard to which the Hindus are so tenacious.

the idiom of Penjab his maternal language. At length he connected them into order, and put them into verse. By this time he had so far shaken off those prejudices of Hinduism which he had imbibed with his milk, that he became quite another man. His collection becoming extensive, it took the form of a book which he entitled Grant, and he became famous in the times of the Emperor Baber, from which time he was followed by multitudes of converts. This book is to this day held in so much veneration and esteem amongst the Siks, that they never touch or read it without assuming a respectful posture, and in reality, as it is a compound of what Nanec had found most valuable in those books which he had been perusing, and is written with much force, it has all the merit peculiar to truth and sound sense.

In times of yore, the religious persons of that fraternity could not be distinguished, either in their garb or their usages, from the Mussulman dervishes; nor is the difference easily perceptible even to this day. They live in communities both in villages and towns, and their habitations are called Sangats, where we always see some one who presides over the rest. Nanec, their patriarch, left only two children, one of whom, when grown up, used to amuse himself in hunting and in other pleasures, in which he has been imitated by his

descendants, all of whom are the reputed heirs of his propensities. The other son devoted himself to a religious life, and his followers live, to all intents and purposes, like so many Mussulman dervishes or fakirs. Nanec Guru had not for his immediate successor either the one or the other of his children, but only a servant of his house, called Angad, who succeeded to his authority. The ninth in succession from this Angad was one Tegh Bahadur, who drew multitudes after him, all of whom, as well as their leader, used to go armed. Finding himself at the head of so many thousand people, he aspired to sovereignty, and united himself to one Adam Hafiz, a Mussulman dervish of the fraternity of Shah Ahmed Serhindy. These two persons no sooner saw themselves at the head of many followers, than forsaking every honest occupation, they began to plunder and to lay waste the whole province of Penjab; for whilst Tegh Bahadur levied contributions on the Hindus, Hafiz Adam did the same upon the Mussulmans. Their excesses having attracted the notice of the emperor Aurengzib, he commanded the viceroy of Penjab to seize these two leaders, with orders to send the Mussulman to Afghanistan, warning him not to cross the river Attock again under pain of death; while he directed that Tegh Bahadur, the other freebooter, should be sent prisoner to the fort of

Gualiar. The governor executed his orders promptly. Some time after this, Tegh Bahadur suffered death; and his body being cut into four quarters, was exposed at the four gates of the fortress of Gualiar.

This act was followed by serious consequences. Hitherto the Siks wore only the religious garb, without any kind of arms. Guru Govind having succeeded to his father, re-organized his numerous bands into companies or troops, which he put under the command of his most confidential disciples, to whom he gave orders to provide themselves with arms and horses. As soon as he saw them accoutred and mounted, he commenced plundering the country and raising contributions. This conduct did not go long unpunished: the fojdars* of the province uniting, fell upon the freebooters, and dispersed them, and Guru Govind's two sons having fallen alive into their hands, were put to death. The father's situation was now become nearly as dangerous: hunted down like a wild beast, he retired to a strong-hold; but he was precluded from escaping to his country and family beyond Serhind, the intermediate country being full of troops. In this critical situation, he applied to the Afghans living beyond Serhind, and promised them a large sum of money if they would conduct him to a place of safety. A number of these people

* Fojdar, *i. e.* military commander.

accepted the proposal, and coming down from their mountains, recommended him to let his beard and whiskers, and the hair of every other part of his body, grow; and then clothing him in a short blue tunic like that worn by themselves, brought him out of his retreat, and carried him through the whole country in perfect safety. Whenever any one enquired who he was, they answered that he was one of their holy men of the town of Oucha. Guru Govind having been so lucky as to extricate himself out of this difficulty, retained the Afghan garb in memory of that event, and he henceforward made it the distinctive dress of his followers. No one was from that time received as a proselyte unless his hair and beard were long, and unless he adopted the garb of the proper pattern. The loss of his children affected Guru Govind so deeply that he shortly after died of grief. He was succeeded by Benda Guru, of whom we have before spoken. This infernal monster having assembled multitudes of desperate fellows, all as enthusiastic and as blood-thirsty as himself, commenced to ravage the country with unheard of barbarity. They spared no Mussulman, whether man, woman, or child; pregnant women were ripped open, and their children dashed against their faces or against walls. The emperor Bahadur-shah shuddered at hearing of such atrocious deeds, and was induced to send

against those barbarians not only the troops of the province, but two other armies commanded by Khan Khanan and Munaim-khan, who at the head of thirty thousand horse surrounded the fort of Loghar, where they besieged him. Having defended himself for some time, Benda contrived to escape. He was pursued by the troops which had united under Mahomed Amin-khan, Asgar-khan, and Rustem-dil-khan, but he again extricated himself. He kept each body of the king's troops perpetually on the wing; for he no sooner escaped them at one place, than he suddenly appeared in an opposite direction, and destroyed every thing by fire and sword, massacreing every Mussulman, and destroying their mosques and tombs. Such was the state of things when Bahadur-shah departed this life. His children, occupied in disputes for the throne, had no time to spare for checking the Siks, so that their power at last became very formidable. On the accession of Ferokh-siar, Islam-khan, viceroy of Lahore, received orders to destroy those freebooters; but he was totally defeated in a pitched battle, and after losing the greatest part of his men, he retired to Lahore covered with disgrace. Benda, elevated by so unexpected a success, recommenced his atrocities with additional fury. It was some time after this battle that Bayezid-khan, the commandant of Serhind, hearing of the approach of

Benda, went out to oppose him. He was encamped without the walls, when in the evening, having retired to a private tent, he was performing the afternoon prayers, a Sik having crept under the wall of the tent, inflicted on him a mortal wound as he was in the act of prostration, and in the confusion which ensued the assassin effected his escape. This intelligence having reached the capital, the emperor commanded Abdul-semed-khan, a Turany chief, then viceroy of Cashmere, to march against the Siks, and at the same time conferred the government of Lahore on his son Zachariah-khan. This general, who afterwards became so famous, had with him many thousand soldiers of his own nation, with several commanders of high distinction, such as Kamer-ed-din-khan, Mahomed Amin-khan, and Asgar-khan. To this army the emperor added several of his own guards, such as the Wala-Shahies and Ahedies.

With these reinforcements, Abdul-semed-khan, who waited only for a train of artillery, proceeded to Lahore, having appointed his own slave Aref-khan his lieutenant at Cashmere during his absence, and taking with him the troops he found encamped at that city. On coming up with the enemy, his troops fell with such fury upon those barbarians that they completely crushed them; nor did the imperialists give over the pursuit until they had

entirely dispersed the enemy. Benda stood his ground at first, and fought desperately; for, although beaten and vigorously pursued, he retired from post to post, like a savage of the wilderness, and while losing his own men, he occasioned heavy losses to his pursuers. At last, worn out by incessant flight, he retired to Goordaspoor, where this chief had long since built a strong fort, in which his followers kept their wives and families with the booty they acquired in their incursions. The imperial general laid siege to this place; nor was it unfurnished with provisions, though the multitudes that had successively retired thither were so considerable. The besiegers, however, were so vigilant, that not a blade of grass nor a grain of corn could find its way into the fort; so that at last, the magazines within being exhausted, a famine commenced its ravage amongst the besieged, who (contrary to the prejudices of their religion) ate asses, horses, and even oxen; and such was the desperate resolution of the garrison, that no one talked of submission, till having consumed all that could be converted into food, and having suffered from a bloody flux that broke out among them, the survivors asked for quarter, and offered to open their gates. The imperial general required them to repair to an eminence, where they were called on to deposit their arms. The famished wretches, reduced to comply

with these conditions, conformed to it, when, having been bound hand and foot, they were made over to the troops, who had orders to carry them close to a river that ran under the walls, and therein to throw the bodies, after having beheaded the prisoners. The officers being put in irons, were mounted upon lame, worn-down, mangy asses and camels, with each of them a paper cap upon his head, and with such a retinue the general entered the city of Lahore in triumph. Bayezid-khan's mother, an old Turany woman, who lived in that city, hearing that her son's murderer was amongst the prisoners, requested her attendants to point him out to her; when, ascending a terrace that overlooked the street, she lifted up a large stone which she had provided, and let it fall so luckily that she killed him on the spot. The old lady after this action said, that being revenged she should now die satisfied. This action worked as a signal, and roused the people of Lahore, so that the general, conceiving that the prisoners would be killed by the mob, ordered them to be conveyed to a place of safety amongst the baggage, where they were covered with trappings of elephants and every thing that could conceal them. The next day he left the city at day-break, with the intention of presenting them alive to the emperor. By way of precaution, they were left to the care of

Kamer-ed-din-khan, and his own son, Zachariah-khan, under a strong escort. As soon as they had arrived on the outskirts of the city, the emperor sent out Mahomed Amin-khan with orders to bring them in, mounted as they were, but preceded by a number of heads upon pikes. Amongst the prisoners was Benda, with his face smeared with black, and a woollen cap placed on his head. That wretch having been brought before the emperor, was ordered to the castle, where he was shut up with his son, and two or three of his chief commanders. The others were carried (a hundred every day) to the town hall, where they were beheaded until the whole number of them was completed. What is singular, these people not only behaved patiently during the execution, but they contended for the honour of being first executed. At length Benda himself was produced, and his son being placed on his lap, the father was ordered to cut his throat, which he did without uttering one word. His flesh was then ordered to be torn off with red hot pincers, and it was in those torments that he expired, expiating by his death, in some measure, the enormities he had himself committed on the people of God.* Mahomed Amin-khan, struck with the appearance of Benda, could not help addressing him: "It is surprising (said he)

* The author alludes probably to Mussulmans in particular.

that one who shews so much acuteness in his countenance, and has displayed so much ability in his conduct, should have been guilty of such horrid crimes, that must infallibly ruin him in this world as well as in the next." With the greatest composure he replied, "I will tell you what, my lord, whenever men become so corrupt and wicked as to relinquish the path of equity, and to abandon themselves to all kinds of excesses, then Providence never fails to raise up a scourge like me, to chastise a race become so depraved; but when the measure of punishment has been filled, then he raises up such a man as you, to bring him to punishment."

We have already related how it had been agreed between the two rival parties at court, that upon Amir-jumlah's quitting the capital, Hussein Ali-khan should repair to his post in the Deckan, and it has been seen how his departure was delayed. At last, after having accomplished all his purposes, he departed, but not without first repairing to court, and telling the emperor and his confidants plainly, that if in his absence any thing should be attempted against his brother, the vezir Abdullah-khan, his majesty might rest assured that he would quit every thing, in order to be again in the capital, within twenty days. This open threat having convinced the emperor of the viceroy's power, he was no sooner gone, than the ministers despatched letter

after letter to Daud-khan Peny, governor of Guzerat, conferring on him the government of Boorhanpoor in addition to his own, with orders to repair thither, at the head of his army, and to destroy Hussein Ali-khan and his troops, by any means in his power, for which service he was promised the viceroyalty of the Deckan. On the receipt of these instructions Daud-khan, who made but little account of his enemy, repaired to Boorhanpoor, where he without hesitation assumed all the state of viceroy of the Dekhan. This intelligence being conveyed to Hussein Ali-khan, the latter wrote to the Afghan, that as he himself was actually invested with that viceroyalty, it was proper that Daud-khan Peny should come to pay his respects to his superior, and shew himself ready to execute his commands; else he had better repair to the emperor's court at once, without rendering himself guilty of proceedings that could end in nothing but dissensions and in his own ruin. This letter making no impression upon Daud-khan, he came out of Boorhanpoor and encamped in the plain, with a determination to oppose Hussein Ali-khan. He at the same time invited a number of Mahratta generals who had become servants of the crown, to join him. These chiefs had obtained commands of honour and emoluments, so early as the reign of Bahadur-shah. The most considerable amongst them was

Bimbaji Sindiah, who enjoyed the revenue of the whole territory of Aurengabad in lieu of pay. All these chiefs came and remained encamped with Daud-khan until the twenty-fifth of Ramazan, in the fourth year of the reign of Ferokh-siar, at which time Hussein Ali-khan appeared at the head of twenty-six thousand horse, the only troops that were able to keep up with the rapidity of his march. They were all veteran troops, and accustomed to be led to victory under his command. The viceroy having arrived within sight of the enemy, endeavoured to reclaim that haughty chieftain, by sending him several conciliatory messages; but finding him deaf to all overtures, he resolved to reduce him by force. The battle proved obstinate and bloody: the troops on both sides, pressing upon each other, rushed forward, regardless of every thing but how to engage amongst the foremost; in a moment the conflict commenced, and streams of blood pouring down from the hands of so many heroes, saturated the thirsty earth. How many bodies, before accustomed to all the conveniences and elegancies of luxurious life, reposed that day on the bloody and hard ground, and how many heads streaming with blood, were raised on the point of spears, like so many full-blown roses fixed on their stalks! The firm earth, shaken by the incessant roar of artillery, seemed to be in motion

25 Ramazan, A.H. 1127. 25 August, A.D. 1718.

like the heavens in a storm; whilst the firmament itself, confounded at the appearance of so many blood-thirsty warriors, stopped short in its course, and stood motionless to view the scene. Daud-khan had given orders to the conductor of his elephant to carry him close to that of Hussein Ali-khan, as soon as he could descry him. Meanwhile Hiraman, a Hindu, who commanded the van of the Afghan's army, pushed on as far as the enemy's artillery, where he was making great havoc, when he was himself perceived by a body of the Seids of Barha, who threw themselves in his path, and killed or wounded every one of those that had followed him. This loss did not divert Daud-khan from his design. He sought his rival every where, being preceded by three hundred daring Afghans, who armed with battle-axes, hewed down all who came in their way. It was on this occasion that the bravest of the viceroy's soldiers fell. Mahomed Yusuf-khan, commander of his artillery, as well as Rustem Beg, and Basalet-khan at the head of their troops, which were mowed down like grass and slain. Aalem Ali-khan, with Khan Zeman-khan, and many persons of distinction, were wounded. The Afghans made their way good with great slaughter, Daud-khan at last found himself opposed to Mir-mushref, an old general personally attached to Hussein Ali-khan. He was in a full suit of armour, and literally

cased in iron, Daud-khan, mistaking him for the viceroy, cried out announcing himself, and said, "why do you keep yourself muffled up like a woman? up with your visor, man, that I may see who you are." Daud-khan said this in contempt, as he never wore but a jerkin of muslin on the day of battle. Having said this and placing an arrow to his bow, he with an unerring aim, lodged it in Mir-mushref's neck; that officer fainting with anguish and loss of blood, fell down into his howda, to which he just held by one hand. In this situation Daud-khan's driver making use of his iron crook, gave him two or three blows on the back, which the old nobleman remembered the remainder of his life; and several years after, when adverting to the action, carrying his hand to his back, he used to say that he could fancy he felt them still. Whilst this terrible conflict lasted, Mir-mushref's elephant-driver seized the opportunity to part the two elephants: but a report spread throughout the army that he was slain, and created a temporary panic. Daud-khan drawing near to Hussein Ali-khan's elephant, the people thought that all was over; numbers deserted their ranks, whilst others fled in earnest. A signal discomfiture was about to ensue, few choosing to stand by their general, except a small body, resolved to perish rather than forsake him. Matters had reached this critical point, and

the confusion was becoming general, when a musket-ball, as if by divine command, struck Daud-khan in the forehead and killed him outright, thus changing the morning of his glory into everlasting night. The driver, seeing his master dead, turned his elephant and fled, accompanied by those who sought to avoid the sword. At sight of this, Hussein Ali-khan ordered his military music to strike up in token of victory; and sending his people after the Afghan's elephant, he was soon overtaken, and his body being fastened to that animal's foot, it was dragged through the city of Boorhanpoor.

It may be asked what became of Bimbaji and his Mahratta cavalry, of which we have not said a word. The answer is short. He, like a true Mahratta, contented himself with scampering about at the beginning of the action, and remained a spectator; but when he saw that victory had favoured Hussein Ali-khan, he galloped over, and presented him his offerings, as did all his officers. All this while, the Mahrattas having entered the enemy's camp, plundered every thing on which they could lay their hands. Nevertheless there still remained much booty for the victors. The whole of Daud-khan's equipage, money, horses, and elephants were secured for the viceroy's use, a small part of which only he vouchsafed to send to the emperor, and that too after a length of time.

Daud-khan had left at Ahmedabad a wife by whom he was tenderly loved. She was the daughter of a Hindu zemindar, or great landholder. It had been the practice in past times for some of those Hindu princes to give their daughters in marriage to the viceroys for the time being. This lady, who had embraced the Mussulman religion on her entrance into the seraglio, was now seven months gone with child. She had entreated to be allowed to follow her husband, from whom at his departure she had obtained his poignard, as a token of his love; but the news of his death reaching Ahmedabad, she took the poignard and opened her own belly, so that while she lost her life she saved that of her child.* The report of this victory soon reached Dehli: it was remarked that the emperor could not conceal his concern. He even said, in the vezir Abdullah-khan's presence, that it was a pity that so brave a man as Daud-khan should have been slain; and he added, that his body had been unworthily treated. This expression was taken up by the vezir, who answered that "had his brother been slain by that savage of an Afghan, his death he supposed would have appeared quite proper,

* The belief of this young female taught her, that by making this sacrifice to the manes of her husband, she should expiate both his sins and her own, and that they would be reunited in a future state.

and would have been more acceptable to his majesty." Two remarkable circumstances occurred shortly after this conversation; these were, first, the sudden dismissal of a body of select soldiers, which the emperor had ordered to be raised with a high pay, from forty to nine hundred rupees per month, payable by assignment on crown-lands, and in expectation of which they had been waiting twelve months. They were suddenly dismissed, and the paymasters told that at present there was no money in the treasury. The second was the arrival of Amir-jumlah from Azim-abad Patna; where it seems, over and above the standing troops of his government, he had raised a large body of Moguls and other foreigners; and as the revenues of the country could not maintain those additional troops, they subsisted by pillaging the flat country, and by committing violences even in the middle of his capital, where they put under contribution the poor as well as the upper classes. Such enormities soon rendered their employer Amir-jumlah an object of universal detestation; but as he had most extravagantly squandered away the public money, and no resource remained for him against the disaffection of those people who threatened his person, he resolved to fly. For this purpose he got into one of those covered palkies that are used to convey women, and without imparting even a

hint of his design to his most intimate friends, or even to his menial servants, he fled towards Dehli, where he arrived in fifteen days. He reached it in the very middle of a dark night, and made his appearance at the castle-gate like a ghost from his grave. This was at a time when reports were spread throughout the city that it was the emperor's intention to seize the vezir's person; and as the former had now conceived a rooted aversion against the two brothers, it was believed that Amir-jumlah had been sent for secretly. This much is certain, however, that when he did make his appearance at court he was ill received, and this reception only tended to increase his unpopularity. He went to Abdullah-khan, to whom he commenced paying assiduous court, and said he was resolved henceforward to devote himself solely to his family. All these protestations were attributed to artifice by the public, and even to a concerted scheme of seizing the vezir's person. It was even suspected that the unexpected dismissal of the eight thousand troopers, and the appearance of the vast crowds of Moguls, and other disbanded soldiers, who arrived daily from Azim-abad Patna, and paraded every where armed, about the streets, and especially at the palace of Mahomed Amin-khan, the paymaster-general, and of Amir-jumlah and Khan Dowran, were measures preparatory to the seizure of the

minister. Abdullah-khan at last began to think so himself, and giving way to his apprehensions, he ordered his quarter of the city and his palace to be put in a state of defence, causing a number of troops to be raised for the purpose. His nephew, Gheiret-khan, who had just been appointed fojdar of Narnole, and who had quitted the city with a strong party to take possession, having heard of these rumours, returned, and took up his quarters round his uncle's palace, not only with what troops he had with him, but also with some new levies which he collected on the way, chiefly composed of a large body of Seids of Barha, who flocked into the city on hearing that the vezir, whom they looked upon not only as their countryman but also as their kinsman, was in danger. Such terror was spread among Abdullah-khan's friends, that they fortified themselves in his palace or in his neighbourhood, and sat upon their elephants the whole day, ready for battle, and stood to their arms the whole night. But what looked very singular was, that at such a moment of suspicion, Amir-jumlah, at a loss what to do himself, sought an asylum with Mahomed Amir-khan, after having rendered himself not only odious but even contemptible towards him by his thoughtless behaviour. Notwithstanding this pusillanimous conduct, Amir-jumlah harboured thoughts of contending against such men as Hussein Ali-khan and

the vezir Abdullah-khan. Amidst all these intrigues, the emperor, who felt his own inability as well as his favourite's incapacity, undertook to put an end to them by discarding Amir-jumlah. He was accordingly dismissed to his native country of Multan, and Serbelend-khan appointed to his government of Azimabad Patna. These steps produced no conviction in the mind of discerning men of the emperor's real intentions towards the Seids; for his want of sincerity was now so publicly known, and suspicions had taken so deep root, that whenever he went out a hunting, or the least motion was observed in his household, a report was instantly spread that the vezir was seized. No wonder then that that minister continued to raise troops and to prepare for his defence.

This year, which was marked by so many troubles and feuds, became also memorable by the demise of the venerable Assed-khan, that wise Azof of the state, who had been so long prime minister to Aurengzib. He departed this life, after having completed the ninety-fifth year of a life full of merit and virtue, in the sixth year of
A.H. 1129. Ferokh-siar's reign, and in the eleven hundred and
A.D. 1716. twenty-ninth of the Hegira. He may be said to have been the last member of that ancient nobility, which had conferred so much honour on the empire. He had every qualification that can con-

stitute a character equally eminent in public, and amiable in private life; of a placid temper, and of a benignity of disposition so engaging, that to this day his name is affectionately remembered by all who knew him. Without ever having stooped to any nobles of the recent courts, he lived with dignity and splendour to the very last, preserving uninterruptedly great influence throughout every part of the empire; and to his immortal honour be it said, he never ceased to employ his credit as well as his purse, in conferring obligations on any one that presented himself, whether a friend or stranger. May God Almighty be merciful unto his soul. Amen. It is well known that the proper name of that venerable noble was Ibrahim, and that of his son Ishmael. The latter was no other than that same Zulficar-khan so unjustly murdered by Ferokh-siar's order, in the beginning of his reign. People well remembered, that the son, being unwilling to submit to the new emperor, and fully able to maintain his own independence, allowed his father's entreaties to prevail. He was thus totally subdued by the weight of paternal authority, which engaged him to lay aside all thoughts of opposition, and to repair to Ferokh-siar's head-quarters.

Long before this venerable man's demise, the emperor, whose misfortune it was never to discern

real merit, and who now repented of his harshness, endeavoured to make reparation to that noble family. He himself wondered at his own conduct, the more so, as he now felt deeply the fatal consequences of it. On hearing that Assed-khan was upon his death-bed, he sent a person to pay him a visit of condolence on his part, and to address him in these terms. " It is a pity that we should have not been at first sensible of all the merits of your illustrious family, and that such fatal ignorance should have brought about a mournful event, that ought never to have happened. Now we repent, and lament and sob, but all these come too late, and prove of no avail. Nevertheless, such is the high opinion we have conceived of your eminent character, and such is the perplexity of our situation, that we flatter ourselves that you will not deny us your advice as to what we are to do with the Seids." The venerable old man, after having attentively listened to the message, answered in a mild tone of voice: " You have committed a very great error; the destiny of my son was fulfilled, and you were yourself under the impulse of fate; but now the day of retribution seems at hand, you are full in its way; and I much fear, that from the appearance of the general disaffection throughout your kingdom, ruin sits beneath the columns of the throne of Timur. You have unfortunately given

up your authority into the hands of the Seids, it is too late to retrace your steps; spare nothing now to keep them satisfied, lest these dissensions should give birth to greater evils, and reduce you to the necessity of suffering the reins of government to slip absolutely out of your hands."

CHAPTER II.

NOTHING could be wiser than the dying nobleman's advice; but it made only a momentary im pression on the emperor, who continued as thoughtless as ever. Eternally importuned by courtiers equally imprudent and ambitious, he conferred on their friends most of the subordinate offices of the Deckan, to the great dissatisfaction of Hussein Ali-khan, the viceroy, who looked upon all those appointments not only as encroachments on his privileges as minister, but as even dangerous to his safety. Hussein Ali-khan therefore set them aside with fair words, and advanced his own dependents to all offices of trust: a line of conduct that did not fail to render him more obnoxious at court. Nor was Abdullah-khan, the other brother, more scrupulous. His deputy, Rattan Chand, proud of his master's influence, interfered with the public accounts, despite of the crown officers, whose province it was to keep them. Even the head of the khalisah office, who is properly speaking the minister of finance, or accomptant-general, had become a mere cypher, and all affairs of revenue passed through the hands of Rattan Chand, who in a few hours' time could transact business to the amount

of several corores. He also put up for rent all the crown-lands. Conduct so overbearing could not but embarrass both Ehtesam-khan, who was at the head of the khalisah office, and the Ray Rayan, who was inspector-general of the troops. These two officers were of different parties, the former inclining to the emperor, and the latter to the vezir; but they at last both sent in their resignations: so that those two offices were vacant, when Enaiet-ullah-khan suddenly made his appearance at court. This nobleman, who had fallen into disgrace in the first year of the emperor's reign, had gone on pilgrimage to Mecca, from whence he now returned. He had acquired a great character for acuteness and fidelity, in the several offices he had held in the reigns of Aurengzib and Bahadur-shah. The emperor was well pleased with the arrival of a man of talents, attached to no party, of whom he could avail himself to remedy the disorders occasioned by Amir-jumlah; and he was now conscious how imprudent he had been in destroying the ancient nobility. The emperor receiving the resignation of Ehtesam-khan, conferred on him the government of Cashmir, and appointed Enaiet-ullah-khan to be his successor in the Deckan. The latter evinced much reluctance to hold two offices, the duties of which, he conceived, he could not discharge to his own or to his master's

satisfaction, so long as Abdullah-khan or his deputy should continue to carry every thing with a high hand; nor was Rattan Chand himself pleased to see a man appointed to so high an office under him, whose severity he had more than once experienced in Aurengzib's reign.

This disagreement was put an end to by Yeklas-khan, a Hindu convert, who, though professedly attached to the two Seids, was too little pleased with the complexion of the times to accept of office himself. He lived a retired life, solely occupied in writing, by the emperor's order, the history of his time, under the title of Ferokh-siar Nama. This nobleman having connexions with both parties, proposed the following expedient, *viz.* that Enaiet-ullah-khan should promise that he would never propose any thing to the emperor without having first consulted Abdullah-khan. There were also two more stipulations: the first, that Rattan Chand should not interfere in Enaiet-ullah-khan's office; the second, that Abdullah-khan himself should be more assiduous in the discharge of his duty as vezir, as the only means of preventing the clamours of many persons, whose business was at a stand for want of his seal or signature. It was agreed also that Abdullah-khan should repair twice a week at least to the castle, where he should sit in state ready to hear petitions and to redress com-

plaints. The vezir complied for some time; but he was so averse to the emperor's presence, and so addicted to women and devoted to every species of licentiousness, that he soon relapsed into his former habits, and had no time to spare for public business.

Whilst the minister's conduct left every thing to take its course, Enaiet-ullah-khan increased the discontent, by a severity, of which his discernment ought to have pointed out the inexpediency and danger. Without sufficiently attending to the complexion of the times, he proposed to the emperor to enforce certain laws, relative to the capitulation-tax on Hindus. The court and palace were full of eunuchs, Hindus, and Cashmirians, who had availed themselves of the inattention of the vezir's administration, to obtain exorbitant salaries, to engross the best estates, and to disappoint the pretensions of those who aspired to such emoluments on better titles. The minister of finance now proposed, that part of those exorbitant grants and salaries should be resumed or altogether abolished, and part reduced to such limits, as were according to precedent in the imperial records. These two proposals proved so disagreeable to Rattan Chand, and to all the pillagers of the public wealth, that they complained to Abdullah-khan. To him likewise they proved equally unwelcome;

and all the sufferers by these arrangements writing against the author of the reforms, a coolness arose which displayed itself in daily bickerings, and which terminated in mutual disgust between the vezir and the minister. At length an open rupture ensued on the following occasion.

A Hindu, who farmed some crown-lands, was found indebted to the treasury in a large amount for which he was put under restraint, notwithstanding the repeated applications of Rattan Chand for his enlargement; at length the defaulter corrupted his guards, and made his escape to Rattan Chand's house, where he was protected. Eniaet-ullah-khan having represented the matter to the emperor, induced him to send a detachment of the palace-guard to fetch the delinquent; but Rattan Chand's people defending themselves, the emperor commanded the vezir to dismiss his deputy, which he promised to do, though without any intention of complying with the order. The main subject of dissention, however, was the affair of Churamon Jatt. He was a powerful zemindar in the neighbourhood of Acberabad, of a family which at all times had proved so troublesome, that several emperors had been constrained to march against his ancestors in person, and to bring them under subjection. Churamon had himself been once chastised for his refractory conduct, and becoming trouble-

some again, the emperor in the beginning of Shewal in the year 1129, appointed the Raja Jye-sing Sevay to reduce him. On this occasion the emperor promoted Jye-sing to a higher military rank, and presented him with an elephant, a suit of jewels, and some lacs of rupees. After his departure, he dispatched to his assistance a large body of troops under the command of Seid-khan Jehan, brother of the vezir Seid Abdullah-khan. It was after the Raja Jye-sing having arrived before the Jatt's fortress, had carried his trenches close to the place and had sustained a great loss, that this reinforcement arrived. The new general being young and fiery, disapproved of the slowness of this mode of attack, and made several assaults, but they proved so unsuccessful, that the camp was soon full of wounded men. The fort, however, after having been at length besieged a whole year, and suffering great distress from the want of supplies, could resist no longer. Thus situated, Churamon Jatt wrote to his agent at court, to apply to the vezir Abdullah-khan, offering to submit, to send a *peshkesh* or present of money, and to attend at court, should the emperor be pleased to overlook his past conduct; but under the express conditions, that the negotiation should not be conducted through Raja Jye-sing, and that he should not be permitted to have any share in concluding the

Shewal, A.H. 1129. September, A.D. 1717.

treaty. This was no sooner communicated to the vezir, than Jye-sing receiving advice of it, was incensed at the insult offered to him. He quitted the army and repaired to court, and imparted his own resentment into the mind of the emperor, who conceived his dignity was also compromised in the affair. In addition to this, Churamon Jatt himself arrived a few days after at the capital, and took up his residence close to the vezir's palace. After all these provocations, he had the assurance to present himself before the emperor, who detesting his person, refused to see him. The emperor seemed greatly affected by the turn which this affair had taken, especially at the present time, when nothing but disagreeable news were daily arriving from the Deckan, where disturbances had broken out, which threatened to involve the emperor and the empire in their consequences.

In that quarter Hussein Ali-khan, the vezir's brother, was at the head of a victorious army. He had gone to Aurengabad, the capital of his government, where he was occupied in introducing order, when he heard from the Candeish, that Kandu-behary, one of the principal Mahratta generals in the Raja Sahu's service, was committing excesses in that province. It is to be observed, that although that country was included within the viceroyalty of the Deckan, yet it, as well as many other pro-

vinces of that extensive country, had a Mahratta officer residing there, upon nearly an equal footing with the imperial governor himself, and whose business it was to collect on his sovereign's part the *chout*, or fourth part of the gross revenue, which had been allotted to him by former treaties. This impost had been extended throughout the Deckan ten or twelve years after the demise of the emperor Aurengzib, at a time of civil war, and when the princes of the imperial court, fully occupied by their own intestine broils, had no time to attend to the affairs of those distant parts. This Mahratta general having lined the road from Boorhanpoor to Surat, the principal sea-port of India, with a number of mud forts into which he had thrown garrisons, was in the habit of stopping merchants and whole caravans and exacting from them one-fourth of the customs; to which exactions if they submitted all was well: else he used to cause the caravans to be plundered on the way, and the merchants to be detained till they were ransomed. Such arbitrary proceedings having created a general clamour against him, the viceroy despatched his general, Zulficar-beg, at the head of a force of eight thousand men, cavalry and infantry, to put an end to these extortions. This general having got with some difficulty over the passes beyond Aurengabad, was marching in that tract of hilly

country which bounds Candeish in the direction of Surat, when he fell in with Kandu-behary at the head of eight or nine thousand veterans, all cavalry and effective men, but whose numbers had been swelled by local recruits to as many as fifteen or sixteen thousand. The troops came in sight of each other on the confines of Baglana, at about seventy coss westward of Aurengabad. Zulficar-beg immediately prepared to attack the Mahratta, but he choosing to fight only on his own terms, declined the combat; and continued to retreat until he had drawn his enemy into a difficult country, full of underwood and uneven ground. In vain Zulficar-beg's intelligencers warned their master against engaging the Mahrattas on this spot, but confident of his soldiers, and to the full as wreckless as the body of Seids of Barha that followed him, he fell upon the enemy, and killed a number of those uncircumcised unbelievers, whom he sent to the regions of hell. The Mahrattas, according to custom, gave way on all sides, their general seeming to fly likewise, with no more than five hundred men. This manœuvre was calculated to draw the Mussulmans further and further into the strong country, which obliged them to separate into small distinct parties, disunited from each other by ravines and coppices. This was precisely the object which Kandu-behary had in view, for as soon as

he saw his enemies entangled within such a net, he secured the few passes by which they might escape, and having attacked them simultaneously on all sides, he slew their general and killed or wounded every one that fell in his way. The massacre lasted for some time, when those that survived, after delivering up their horses, arms and cloths, were made prisoners.

So disgraceful a defeat affected the viceroy deeply, who appointed Raja Mohcam-sing, his minister, with an army of veteran troops to avenge his honour, supported by another detachment under the command of his own younger brother, Seif-ed-din Ali-khan, whom he appointed to the government of Boorhanpoor. The two generals, who had orders to act in concert, were resolved to put an end to the Mahrattas. Kandu-behary, who had no inclination to fight on such disadvantageous terms, retreated southward with all his people, whom he placed in several strong-holds of the Sahu-raja's dominions. As to his mud forts, as soon as one of them was besieged, it was directly evacuated, but no sooner had the troops marched away than the garrison returned. And although Mohcam Sing defeated and dispersed another body of freebooters, that advanced from Ahmednagar in quest of booty, and pursued it to the gates of Sattara, yet Zulficar-beg's defeat and death remained unrevenged.

Such a disgrace affected the viceroy's reputation and the credit of his government. The Deckanies, at all times an unruly people, were now become sensible of the intestine feuds between their viceroy and the emperor, and had in consequence become refractory and rebellious. This disposition was not a little encouraged by letters from court, where not only the raja of Sattara, but also all the crown servants and subordinate governors of the Deckan were directed to refuse obedience to Hussein Ali-khan's authority, and to do all in their power to ruin and destroy him. These secret orders excited resistance, and although, at this very time, Mubariz-khan, governor of the ancient kingdom of Hydrabad, had submitted to the viceroy, yet neither was that kingdom nor Bijapoor and Carnatic brought under complete subjection. The viceroy sensible of his situation, and feeling that the orders from court were calculated to undermine him, silently refused to admit the divans, or superintendants of finances, that were sent to him daily from court, to enter on their duties, and he either tired them out with delays, or cut them short with a flat refusal.

These differences between the viceroy and the court, the foundations of that order, which the warlike and victorious Aurengzib had been at so much pains to establish, in countries where he had passed

so great a portion of his life, and where he had expended all the treasures amassed by the emperor Shah Jehan his father. With infinite labour and personal toil Aurengzib had, during five and twenty years, wrested thirty or forty strong-holds out of the hands of the Mahrattas, and reduced the garrisons to take shelter in other fastnesses. During some years after his death intestine wars distracted the attention of his successors, and Bahadur-shah, who at last mounted the throne, having chosen for his residence the city of Lahore, a place remote from the centre of his empire, and still farther from the Deckan, that country became the scene of disorder. The Mahrattas availed themselves of this circumstance to rush out of their fastnesses, and to spread themselves over the neighbouring provinces, and by degrees they not only recovered several of their strong-holds, but committed such ravages on the imperial territories, as induced the viceroys to redeem them from total alienation by submitting to pay a yearly tribute of one full quarter of the revenue, under the appellation of *chout*, while those districts that refused to bend under so disgraceful a yoke, were subjected every year to all the ravages of fire and sword. Not but that the Mahrattas met with a vigorous resistance in some particular stations, from whence after a blockade of some length they retired with loss,

but they departed only to return again. This state of eternal warfare had tired out even the Mahrattas themselves, and at so early a period as the latter end of Aurengzib's reign, Rana Bye, the relict of Ram Raja, had solicited that prince to put an end to the miseries of mankind by granting her the ser des-muk'hy* in lieu of all other claims. This proposal included a tenth of the revenue of the six provinces that composed the viceroyalty of Deckan. To this Aurengzib refused to accede. Matters remained in this state until the time of Daud-khan Peny who governed all those countries as lieutenant of the vezir Zulficar-khan. The Mahrattas entertained the highest respect for him, and he lived in amity with them. It was at length agreed that the Mahrattas should henceforward abstain from any demands on such tracts and territories as

* The Des-muk'h, literally Chief of the district, was an hereditary office throughout India under the Hindu government, and in the local or modern appellations of Dessavi, Nat Gour, Natumkur, Naidu, Dessye, Des-muk'h, and Zemindar, we recognize the same person, from Ceylon to Cashmire, at the present day. The local officers received a portion of the revenue in money or in kind. The Mahomedans commuted such fees, by giving up to them waste land abandoned through excess of taxation. The Mahrattas had, long ere this period, imposed this tax in great part of the Deckan held by the Mahomedans. They demanded the same for the remainder, on the plea of their raja being the head of the Des-muk'hs, or hereditary Hindu district chiefs, to this claim they gave in consequence the appellation of Ser Des-muk'hy.

were held by the princes of the royal blood, but that all those districts belonging to the grandees of the court, or any others, should pay chout to Hiramon as lieutenant of Daud-khan Peny, without the interference of the Mahrattas.

This agreement, though intended to put an end to all other pretensions, gave birth to an infinity of disputes, which usually ended in bloodshed; and under the government of Nizam-ul-mulk, which lasted no more than one year and some months, the chout, which had been hitherto levied by mutual agreement, was raised in that way. He defeated the Mahrattas once in a pitched battle, and took from them a vast number of mares and two or three elephants, which last he sent to the emperor, under the care of Mirza Beg. This viceroy, who was a man of vigour, was succeeded by Hussein Ali-khan, whose attention was wholly diverted by the machinations at court; which, by perpetually exciting the raja of Sattara, and by encouraging the rajas and governors of those distant parts against him, effectually marred every measure he adopted to suppress the Mahratta encroachments. Unsupported by his master, whose designs against his family he had every reason to dread, and desirous to strengthen himself against his enemies, he eventually came to an agreement with the Mahrattas on the following conditions: that, over and

above what had been agreed to under Daud-khan Peny's administration, the Mahrattas should be entitled to the ser des-muk'hy, being a tenth of all the revenues of the six and a half provinces of the Deckan, and that the Mahratta generals, Jeswent Row and Chimnajy Appa, should reside at Aurengabad, at the head of a body of veteran troops, near the viceroy's person, as deputies from the raja of Sattara, in whose name they should collect their chout from the Jaghirdars, as well as the ser des-muk'hy rights from the ryots or cultivators.

In consequence of this treaty, the pillage and massacre that had so long desolated the Deckan ceased for a time, and the inhabitants began to enjoy tranquillity; but still the task of collector of the revenue became troublesome, complicated, and pregnant with difficulty. He was now obliged to deal with three distinct offices: the collector of the imperial revenue, the collector of the chout, and the collector of the ser des-muk'hy. Hussein Ali-khan, after the ratification of this treaty, and after admitting the Mahrattas into all the cities of his immense government, sent notice of it to the emperor, for his approval. The emperor, instigated by those nearest his person, rejected the treaty as highly derogatory to his honour, being calculated to support that spirit of independence with which its author was supposed to be infected. At the

same time he appointed Jan-nisar-khan to be the viceroy's lieutenant in the province of Candeish. The emperor on dismissing him presented him with a splendid dress of honour, an elephant, and some jewels. This was in public; but in a private audience he charged him with some advice for Hussein Ali-khan, in hopes that as Jan-nisar-khan was regarded as the uncle of the latter, he might by the weight of his authority prevail on his nephew to behave with more respect to the emperor. This happened in the sixth year of his reign, which answers to the years 1130 of the Hegira. Mahomed Amir-khan was A.H. 1130. at the same time appointed to the viceroyalty of A.D. 1717. Malwa; on the frontiers of which he was to receive his patent, and to convey a letter of recal for Raja Jye-sing Sevay. The general opinion at court was that he had been dispatched upon a very different errand; a rumour which induced Jan-nisar-khan to halt on the Nerbedda, with hardly any thing more than his usual retinue. He was too prudent to risk his person by appearing without a body of troops on the frontiers of the province to which he had been appointed, and where it was doubtful whether he would be acknowledged. On the other hand, Mahomed Amir-khan advanced to Seronj, the first great town of Malwa. A report now spread throughout the Deckan that Mahomed Amir-khan was marching to Aurengabad, at the head of fifty

thousand horse, and that his vanguard of eight thousand cavalry had been pushed forward under Jan-nisar-khan. This piece of intelligence having been circulated in that great city by the news-writers,* with which all capitals swarm, at last impressed the viceroy himself with apprehensions. His doubts, however, vanished, on the receipt of a letter from Jan-nisar-khan himself, who requested a small number of troops to escort him through certain narrow and difficult passes, where a free-booter of the name of Santa † was plundering on his own private account, independent of the raja of Sattara, his master. The escort was sent, and Jan-nisar-khan immediately waited on the viceroy. Hussein Ali-khan, who felt that Candeish was the frontier most open to invasion from the side of the

* In the absence of the art of printing, it becomes necessary for all persons at the head of establishments, whether mercantile or political, to have constant information of all changes whatsoever that may take place in large cities, and where all depended so much on political intrigues the necessity appears the greater. Such is the case in all the cities of India under the native governments, where news-writers reside as agents. The practice is of very old standing in the East, and a reference to files of these newspapers would lead to the development of some of the most interesting events in the annals of India.

† This was Santaji Kadam Bandy, whose family still hold some small estates in Candeish. The Gykwar of Baroda, and Holker of Indore, are descended from chiefs who were followers of the Bandy family, whose flag they use at the present day.

court, did not choose to confide it to a chief of the emperor's recommendation; but as, on the other hand, he had a high regard for Jan-nisar-khan, he paid him every kind of respect, and welcomed him on his arrival with several very rich presents. Three other persons of importance now arrived from court, with letters-patent for two of the highest offices in the Deckan. These were Zia-ed-din-khan, a Persian by birth, and a sheriff of Khorassan, who on the death of Dianet-khan, nephew to Amanet-khan, had been appointed to the office of divan, or receiver-general of the finances in the Deckan. The two others were Jelal-ed-din-khan, appointed divan of Burhan-poor, and Feiz-ullah-khan appointed paymaster of the forces. Zia-ed-din-khan, who was furnished with a letter of recommendation from the vezir Abdullah-khan, was permitted to take possession of his office, where he had the prudence always to act in conformity with the viceroy's wishes, and to satisfy him. Jelal-ed-din-khan had for some time the superintendance of Berar instead of Candeish; but as to the paymaster of the forces, the viceroy did not even vouchsafe to return his salute. This latter piece of intelligence, having soon found its way to court, raised the emperor's indignation, but without occasioning any change in his mode of life, or inducing him to conceal from the public

eye the infamous vices to which he was strongly addicted. It was at this time one Mahomed Murad, a Cashmirian, universally held in abomination for his vicious propensities, was presented to Saheb-el-nissa, the empress mother, and by her to her son, who gave him a private audience. This man said that he had thought of a variety of plans for seizing Abdullah-khan, and for destroying his brother Hussein Ali-khan, without having recourse to open force. This advice was grateful to the emperor, who being too timid to adopt any vigourous measures, was glad to hear of an expedient to circumvent his enemies, and he increased his affection towards his new associate in proportion to the importance of his advice. He changed his name to that of Etikad-khan, and being himself strongly addicted to the same vicious practices, he henceforward became the king's bosom friend.

This man ingratiated himself deeper and deeper into the emperor's good graces: titles and dignities and honours were showered upon him: his titles were lengthened into those of Etikad-khan Ferokh-shahy Rukn-ed-doulah.* To these titles were superadded the military grade of commander of seven thousand horse, with the full pay and command of ten thousand. He received besides daily

* *i. e.* The confidential noble of the court of Ferokh-shah, the prop of the state.

presents of great value, consisting of jewels of exquisite beauty, and the most curious and costly stuffs from the emperor's wardrobe. Meanwhile as the emperor every day held council with his new favourite, it was at last agreed that three persons should be sent for to court, *viz*. Serbelend-khan from his government of Azimabad Patna, Nizam-ul-mulk, from Muradabad, and Raja Ajit Sing from Guzerat, all men of talents and military character, whom it was intended to gain over against the ministers by promising them the highest offices of the empire. But hardly had Nizam-ul-mulk arrived, when his government of Muradabad, together with the rich estate he enjoyed in that province, were both transferred to the favourite Etikad-khan, and the name of Muradabad was changed to that of Rukn-abad, and the whole bestowed upon him as an estate. The emperor, however, reflecting on the impolicy of disobliging powerful men, attempted to make amends to the Hindu prince by conferring on him the title of Maharaja, and by pointing out to him superior dignities, if the emperor should effect the destruction of the two Seids. The Hindu prince, aware of the emperor's character, declined taking any concern in such an affair, and reflecting on the innocence, and the great power of the two brothers, he became the vezir Abdullah-khan's bosom-friend.

As to Nizam-ul-mulk and Serbelend-khan, who had come so far under the promises of being promoted to the high offices of vezir and commander-in-chief, they were not only disappointed, but even lost the governments they had hitherto enjoyed. Their surprise and discontent knew no bounds, but having set their hearts on those offices, they supplicated his majesty to entrust the vizarat to either of his faithful servants, if he wished to get rid of Abdullah-khan. To this resolute proposal the emperor made this memorable answer: "I know no man fitter for vezir than Etikad-khan." There were then at court several great chiefs, both of Iranian* and Turanian extraction, all men of known character and enterprise; but so soon as any of them proposed to rid the emperor of the two Seids, on condition of having the vizarat, he was immediately saluted by these ridiculous words: "I know no man fitter for vezir than Etikad-khan." What made all those nobles so forward in offering their services at this moment, was the favourable opportunity afforded by the approaching feast of the korban, or sacrifice, when the whole city would go out beyond the suburbs, to pray in the open fields. The retinues and troops brought by those two chiefs, and by the Hindu princes, added to those always attending the emperor's

* Iran signifying Persia; Turan, Chorasmia.

person, could not amount to less than seventy or eighty thousand cavalry, whilst it was well known that the vezir Abdullah-khan had no more than four or five thousand retainers about his person; at all events it is certain, that on that very day a report prevailed throughout the city, that Abdullah-khan was going to be arrested or slain. In spite of all these circumstances nothing was done by the emperor, and not a man raised his voice. The reports but served to put Abdullah-khan upon his guard, and he who had hitherto admitted none but Seids around his person, now ordered twenty-five thousand horse to be raised forthwith, without any distinction of country or nation. Accounts of these proceedings reached the ears of Hussein Ali-khan, viceroy of the Deckan, who impressed with well-grounded apprehensions for the safety of his brother, and his family, resolved to postpone every other object, and quitting the Deckan to march to the capital, where he resolved to remove all doubts for the future, by not quitting Dehli without crushing all his enemies.

This design having taken possession of his mind, he recollected one Moiz-ed-din, a neglected young man now at the raja of Sattara's court, who passed for a son of the prince Acber, the youngest son of the emperor Aurengzib. He sent an escort to bring him, and caused him to enter the city of

Aurengabad with a pompous train, but in such a manner that no one should distinguish his features. This event formed a paragraph in one of his dispatches to the emperor, and instructions were demanded as to the treatment of this young man. Hussein Ali-khan added also a private request that he might be allowed to quit his station and to repair to the capital, on account of his health, which he stated was much impaired by his residence in the Deckan, as well as by the fatigues of continual and laborious campaigns. These letters alarmed the emperor. His natural timidity instantly evinced itself, and in order to remove his own uneasiness, at a time when one of the brothers was coming to the city with a powerful army, whilst the other was enlisting men on all sides, he resolved to effect an accommodation with so powerful a family. He therefore sent the Hindu prince, Ajit Sing, to convey an apology to Abdullah-khan, and as the messenger was known to profess sincerity to both parties, he soon found means to effect a reconciliation. To confirm this good understanding, which took place at the end of the month of Sheval, the emperor left the citadel accompanied by his favourite Etikad-khan and his minister Khan Douran, and went in state to pay a visit to Abdullah-khan. When there, he swore that henceforward he would be his sincere friend; but

such was the insincerity of the king's disposition, that he never continued in the same mind for any length of time; at one time submitting quietly to events and assuming dissimulations, at another resolving to come to extremities with the Seids, and making them feel the weight of his resentment.

This conduct of the emperor influenced the different opinions of his confidents and favourites, who being alike pusillanimous with himself, discouraged even men of resolution from coming forward, who were ready to execute the most difficult orders. The latter, jealous of the vile set of low associates who had the emperor's ear, refused to have any concern with them, so that they withdrew one after another, full of indignation and disgust. The very men whom the emperor had sent for from afar, in order to strengthen his hands, had lost their employments, and now remained neglected and unthought of; as was the case with Serbelend-khan and Nizam-ul-mulk, who had come upon his pressing invitations and his express commands, on the faith of promises given in his own hand-writing. These two generals, joined by Mubariz-el-mulk and the Rajah Jye Sing Sevay, went at length to the emperor, and proposed that Abdullah-khan should be dismissed from office forthwith, as success depended upon acting openly; after which, he, as well as his younger brother, might easily be

crushed. In that case the cabal undertook either to prevail on the two brothers to submit quietly, or to put them down by force. So bold a proposition did not rouse the emperor. He continued to listen to his favourite Etikad-khan's advice, and disappointed and disgusted the two generals, as we have already said; he moreover now took a rich estate from Serbelend-khan, and bestowed it upon Amir-jumlah, that chief who had already effected the ruin of Assed-khan's family, and who was now working hard for destroying the empire itself. The emperor on returning to his palace sent for Ekhlass-khan, a nobleman whose intimate connexion with the two Seids was well known, and he commissioned him to appease Abdullah-khan's mind, so as to induce him to restrain from exciting troubles at the capital, and to prevent his brother from quitting the Deckan. It was reported that the latter was already in full march, and that he had already sent his younger brother Seif-ed-din Ali-khan to Burhanpoor, at the head of a body of four or five thousand cavalry, with orders to prepare troops and a train of artillery. He had been roused by the rumours that were abroad in the capital, and he resolved to march, when he received intelligence that the emperor had gone to visit Abdullah-khan, in order to bury the past in oblivion and to swear eternal friendship to the

family. These contrary reports perplexed his mind, and determined him to wait for further advices from the capital. He was in this state of suspense, when to his amazement he received a pressing letter from Abdullah-khan, requesting his assistance without a moment's delay. At the same time the general report at Aurengabad was, that his brother the vezir was reduced to extremities at the capital. There was therefore not a moment to lose, if he wanted to save him from destruction. What added greatly to his embarrassment, was an answer to his application for leave to this effect; *viz.* that it might be better for him to repair to Ahmedabad in Guzerat, where his presence was required, if he only wanted change of air, else he might come to the capital, where his majesty would see him with pleasure. This reply was accompanied by an order to send to court the reputed son of prince Acber. Whilst Hussein Ali-khan was preparing for his journey, his brother Abdullah-khan was enlisting troops at the capital. In this he was greatly aided by the distress which all the troops, including those of the household, suffered for want of pay. Full nine months' arrears were due to them, whether in consequence of Abdullah-khan's neglect, or through his own contrivance. They had received nothing in that long time, and their discontent had risen to excess, but they had no one to direct it,

or to lead them to action: so that Abdullah-khan's levies soon amounted to full twenty thousand cavalry.

Serbelend-khan was by this time reduced to extreme necessity. He had been at all times imprudent; his estate had been lately taken from him, and he had spent all his ready money in supporting the troops he had brought with him, which were now persecuting him for their arrears. Driven to despair by demands which he could not otherwise satisfy, he had resolved to get rid of the clamours of his followers, and of the persecution of his creditors, by abandoning to them his elephants, horses, equipage, furniture, and jewels; after which he intended to put on a religious garb, and to turn hermit. Nor was Nizam-ul-mulk in better circumstances: that general, who had been sent for to court, with such pressing invitations and under a solemn promise of succeeding the vezir, had not only been disappointed, but he had also lost the rich estate he possessed; and he had the mortification to see it bestowed on Etikad-khan, the new favourite, of whom the emperor was so fond that he seemed to have eyes and ears only for him. The vezir took advantage of these circumstances, and induced the two generals, by dint of entreaties, to come to his palace. When they arrived, he sent for Serbelend-khan's military officers and his

other creditors, and paid them out of his own private treasury. He moreover recommended him for the government of Cabul then vacant. He also gave Nizam-ul-mulk hopes that he should shortly be appointed to the government of Malwa. It was at this time that Mahomed Amir-khan arrived suddenly at court from Malwa, without leave or without letters of recall. He had advanced only as far as Seronj, when receiving no further instructions from court, and hearing that Hussein Ali khan, viceroy of the Deckan, was on his march to the capital, he returned to Dehli. The emperor was so incensed that he would not see him, but dismissed him from his service. Abdullah-khan no sooner heard of this than he sent for him, and by dint of persuasion and flattery gained him over to his party; and he was so successful that Khan Douran himself, who in conjunction with Amir-jumlah had been so instrumental in fermenting dissensions against the Seids, now went over to the vezir's party, and was admitted to share his councils.

So many desertions perplexed the emperor, who was every day contriving expedients for having his revenge. One day the emperor going out with a hunting party, had agreed on his return to call at the vezir's; and as Maharaja Ajit-sing's lodgings were on the road, and close to that minister's

palace, it was expected the raja would come out to make his bow and present his *nezer*, in which case his majesty thought he might be easily seized, without the emperor appearing to be privy to the plot. The Hindu chief, apprehensive of what might happen, and conscious how much his attachment to the Seids had rendered him obnoxious to the emperor, thought proper to repair to the vezir's palace. This disappointment affected the emperor's spirits; and, although part of his retinue was already opposite the vezir's, and that minister himself had come out and waited for a long time at the entrance for the moment of paying his respects, the emperor kept his eyes fixed on the opposite side, and having ordered his bargemen to steer by the middle of the stream, arrived at his own palace, without noticing the vezir or his attendants.

Meanwhile Hussein Ali-khan having quitted Aurengabad, was on full march towards the capital. Although his army and camp-followers were numerous, he had made them preserve such strict discipline, that no man dared to offer the least violence to any one in the many villages which every night necessarily became enclosed within his encampment. One day a country girl, the daughter of a poor widow, that could hardly subsist, impelled by the pangs of hunger, came out at night, and was strolling about the tents in quest of food. A soldier,

who was then cooking some victuals, asked her whether she chose to follow any one who would take care of her. She consented; and after eating food, fell asleep close to the man, who overcome by the fatigues of a long march slept soundly the whole night, without thinking more of the girl. At day-break he caused her to be mounted upon a camel, and sent her on with his baggage. Meanwhile the widow, who had in vain waited late at night for her daughter's return, could not obtain a moment of sleep, but at day-break took post upon a rising ground, close to which she knew the viceroy would pass. On descrying his elephant, she screamed out that her virgin daughter, the only prop of her widowhood, having strayed last night about the camp in quest of food, had been enticed away by some of his people.

The viceroy, affected by the woman's story, stopped his elephant, halted the line, and after having sworn that he would neither taste food nor drink until she was found, he ordered strict search to be made throughout the whole army. On this order each commander was enjoined to send a number of trusty men amidst the ranks, in order to recover the girl. There are angels always ready to second the intentions of virtuous men in high offices. This immense multitude, that equalled the crowds that will appear at the day of the

judgment, and which moved like the waves of a sea, presented no obstacle to the investigation, for after inquiry the man and the girl were both found and brought before the general.

The latter, turning towards the girl, asked her how she came with the camp, and whether her person had been violated; the girl answered, that tired with suffering every day the pangs of hunger, and the thoughts of famine, she had followed the soldier of her own free-will, in hopes of putting an end to her sufferings, but that he had not defiled her person. The general, on this answer, returned thanks that he had it in his power to gratify the disconsolate mother. At the same time he sent one of his guards with orders not to quit her cottage, until the whole army had passed and was at a distance.

It has been mentioned that Hussein Ali-khan had sent his younger brother to Burhanpoor to prepare camp equipage and a train of artillery. It was the fifteenth of Sheval, in the year 1131 of the Hegira, that on receiving intelligence of his brother's danger he quitted Aurengabad, and having tarried only a few days in Candeish to perform some pressing business, he commenced his march, in the beginning of Muharrem, in the seventh year of the emperor's reign, which answers to the year 1132 of the Hegira. He was accom-

15 Sheval, A.H. 1131. 20 August, A.D. 1719.

Muharrem, A.H. 1132. Nov. A.D. 1719.

panied by a vast number of persons of distinction, among whom was a son of his uncle, called the holy Nawab, whose name was Assed-ullah-khan. He had also that nobleman's children, together with Jan-nisar-khan, Ekhlass-khan, deputy to the governor of Berar, Assed Ali-khan, the lame, a relation of Ali-merdan-khan, Dilere-khan, of Panipput, brother of Zakariah-khan Sadik, and Ekhtisas-khan, nephew of Khan Aalem, as well as Haji Seif-ullah-khan and Zia-eddin-khan, divan, also Firoz Ali-khan, one of the most renowned Seids of Barha. Several Hindu princes likewise accompanied him of their own accord, such as Raja Pretab Sing Bundelah, and Raja Mohcam Sing, one of the principal nobles of the viceroy's court. He was also attended by all the crown-servants of the Deckan, some of whom came of their own accord, but others much against their will. His army, as numerous as the billows of the sea, covered a vast plain. His cavalry alone, amongst which were ten or twelve thousand Mahrattas, amounting to full thirty thousand; the infantry was innumerable, for several Deckany mansabdars, or military officers, who had never moved from their homes, for either viceroy or prince of the blood, had now been made to attend. As to the fortresses, some, like Ahmednagar, were occupied by his own troops, while he left others in the hands of Mahrattas.

All these arrangements being completed and some days spent in concluding his business at Burhanpoor, he departed, and proceeding by continuous marches, crossed the river Nerbedda at Acberpoor. On his arrival at Mandoo, he was met by Ekhlass-khan, a nobleman who had been sent by the emperor to Hussein Ali-khan, to prevail upon him to return to the Deckan. This chieftain recounted in a private audience, how an accommodation had been twice effected and twice broken; how the seeds of dissension seemed to spring up every where; how the grandees of the empire were flocking to the capital; how both Nizam-ul-mulk and Mahomed Amir-khan continued sullen in their discontent; and how the emperor was more than ever attached to Etikad-khan. All these matters could not fail to render the viceroy anxious about his brother's fate. He advanced with promptitude, and received the homages and compliments of all the governors and commanders on the road; but he had the mortification to find himself slighted by Mahomed-khan, an officer of character who commanded at Mandoo in Malwa, whither he had been sent from court for the purpose of bringing into subjection the refractory zemindars of that country; a service which he had performed with much credit. This officer having neglected to visit the viceroy gave great offence, as we shall

see in the sequel. Whilst the army was on full march and encamped near Oojein, news came, that the emperor intimidated by the viceroy's approach, had again visited the vezir Abdullah-khan, and had entered into a fresh treaty with him. He had solemnly sworn to be henceforward a friend to his family, and had ended his visit by taking his own turban from his head, and putting it on that of the minister, as a token of indissoluble amity. The emperor, not content with these protestations, turned towards Etikad-khan and his other favourites, and strongly recommended them to bury all dissensions in oblivion, and to live henceforward upon good terms with his minister. This information had such an affect on Hussein Ali-khan that he said aloud in the middle of the court, that since the emperor was reconciled to them (the two brothers), he might rest assured that they on their part would always behave as became dutiful subjects. "And I intend nothing more," added he, "than to pay my respects, and then to retire to the Deckan." The major part of the assembly being composed of Deckanies, were much pleased at these words, as every one of them expected soon to return home.

The viceroy's friends, however, were not deceived; especially as he was heard to say in private, that the visit of the emperor was a mere farce,

and that all his protestations were but a tale to lull him to sleep, and to prevent his brother from advancing; there was, he observed, not the least sincerity in the king's promise, whom he knew too well to repose any confidence in him: "and," added he, "if the emperor finds an opportunity to get us within his power, he will not fail to do so on any terms, nor will it be possible to save either our honour or our lives. If he fall into ours, we shall probably not treat him better."

Hussein Ali-khan advanced into the territory of the Raja of Gohud, where some villages were plundered, and some havoc committed at first; but on that prince's ambassador appearing with an offering of money, the country was spared, and suffered no further damage. This was not the case with the dominions of Raja Jye-sing Sevay. His country was sacked, in order to punish him for espousing so warmly the cause of the emperor. In vain did this prince's principal agent humble himself before the viceroy, to whom he presented a considerable sum of money. The compliment was rejected, and every thing in his country was abandoned to the rapacity of the soldiery. The fields were ravaged, and young persons of both sexes carried into captivity. At length the army arrived within three or four days' journey of the capital. and the roads became thronged with the

retinues of people of the highest distinction, who flocked to pay their court to the viceroy. Jafer-khan was of this number, as well as Rattan Chand. These, together with a vast multitude of the wealthiest citizens behaved respectfully, and were received with favour; but Jafer-khan, who made a great display of his numerous retinue, and was on that account deemed presumptuous, had the mortification to see himself slighted. This conduct on the part of the viceroy was caused by the reports of tale-bearers, who themselves desirous of furnishing news, whether true or false, seemed unaware of the fatal consequences that might ensue from such dissentions. Every day widened the breach which subsisted between the two brothers and the emperor. The principal incendiary was Rattan Chand, who, impelled by his religious zeal against Mussulmans, as well as by his personal animosity to the emperor, and many grandees of the court, propagated the most extravagant reports, and irritated the viceroy's mind. With feelings highly excited, he advanced close to the capital, and encamped at the staff of Firoz-shah, on the first of Rebi-ul-awal. On approaching his tent he caused the music to be played for him, which is never done but for the emperor; and having entered it with a retinue and a pomp truly imperial, he was heard to say, that as he did not consider

1 Rebi-ul-awal, A. H. 1132. 31 December, A. D. 1719.

himself a subject, he could not pay much attention to etiquette.

Even this did not rouse the pusillanimous Ferokhsiar. Eternally undecided, he talked of the imperial dignity, and of the chastisement which might be the consequence of its infringement; and a day after he spoke only of forbearance, and made advances towards a reconciliation by a renewal of promises and new stipulations. So much weakness discouraged even his most zealous servants. Raja Jye-sing, tired out with such irresolution, once proposed to him to come out of the castle and put himself at the head of his household-troops, and to fall suddenly upon those two rebellious brothers. "The moment," said he, "that your troops and friends (and these after all cannot be reckoned at less than twice the number of those that follow your enemies), the moment your friends shall perceive that you are acting boldly, and with vigour, they will flock to you from all parts, and will put it in your power to punish your enemies. I am even inclined to believe, that at such a sight vast numbers that now seem disposed to follow the standard of the two brothers, will quit it, to return to their lawful master, and assist in crushing them to atoms."

This judicious advice did not produce any effect, so that none of the nobles of the court, who saw

the emperor's infatuation towards his unworthy favourites, thought it right to declare themselves, or to take the lead in an affair in which their master himself seemed quite passive. It is most singular, that whilst Jye-sing's advice was disregarded, no measure was taken to come to some sincere accommodation. The sober advice of many nobles zealous for the honour of the crown was disregarded, and the emperor approving of nothing but what was suggested by his own mind, or by his thoughtless favourites, diffused despair every where, and ruined his cause. No wonder then if at last he saw what came to pass; for numbers of his great officers equally wise and brave, on beholding such a state of things, burned with indignation, and lamented having their hands tied up and condemned to inaction. Nay, some who had heretofore been put under the vezir's command quitted his party of their own accords, on discovering to what lengths his ambition was leading him; and matters might have taken another turn, when the vezir, aware of his danger, and obliged to hasten the crisis, sent the following message to the emperor: " Should your majesty vouchsafe to dismiss Jye-sing, that inveterate enemy of our family, from your court, and send him back to his own country, and condescend to add to that favour the two offices of grand master of the artillery

and superintendent of the halls of audience, with permission to take our own measures in the castle, we your faithful servants, being henceforward free from apprehension, will attend your majesty's person as heretofore." The emperor, without betraying astonishment at such a message, answered, "that in fact, the two offices alluded to were in the vezir's possession, or in that of his friends, and that nothing had been withheld from them but the execution of the laborious part which had devolved on Etikad-khan as his deputy, but that at any rate his deputyship would cease of itself on New Year's Day. That as to Jye-sing, that chieftain had received so early as on the third of Rebi-ul-awal, an order to repair forthwith to his own country, and had already quitted the court."

3 Rebi-ul-awal, A.H. 1132. 2 January, A.D. 1720.

So moderate an answer served only to embolden the two brothers; the more so, as it became evident every day that Ferokh-siar had not a particle of courage; for although he detested the Seids, and wished their destruction, and was eternally importuned by his servants to place himself at their head, and to attack them at once, nevertheless such was his pusillanimity that he did not dare to prepare openly for defence, still less to sally forth and assault his enemies. Against his own conviction and inclination, he formally consented to the request of the vezir Abdullah-khan, and on the 5th

of Rebi-us-sani, that minister repaired to the castle, attended by a crowd of persons of distinction devoted to his interest, amongst whom was Ajit-sing. He dismissed the emperor's troops and officers from all their posts and offices in the castle, and placed his own in their stead; so that of all chiefs of distinction, who attended daily on the emperor's person, there remained no one but his favourite Etikad-khan; Imtiaz-khan, the comptroller of the household; and Jafer-khan, master of the ceremonies, with a few others of whom the vezir made no account, together with some menial servants and eunuchs. A few hours after, the viceroy, surrounded by a pomp truly imperial, placing himself at the head of his forces, marched through the city in battle array, and having taken possession of the gates and ramparts, which his troops overspread so as to fill several streets, he continued his march to the palace, where having alighted he paid a very short visit to the emperor. It was remarked that few words were exchanged between them; and, although the emperor presented him with a number of elephants, horses, and jewels, he vouchsafed his acceptance of a few only, and on his departure made so careless a bow that it gave general offence to the court. Even such a scene could not rouse Ferokh-siar: he continued motionless, and passively saw himself divested of his dignity and

5 Rebi-us-sani, A.H. 1132.
3 February, A.D. 1720.

patrimony, in the midst of his court. Two days after, the vezir returned to the castle, dismissed the few persons that remained attached to the emperor, placed his own creatures every-where, and giving charge of the gates to one of his own trusty servants, he sent for the keys of the private stairs, the dormitory, and the hall of justice. As soon as the viceroy was informed that all was quiet within the citadel, he set out in as much state and pomp as before, and proceeding along several streets which had been filled for two whole days with his troops, he repaired to his own residence, called Shaistah-khan's Palace, situated close to the citadel. On this occasion he had brought with him the pretended son of prince Acber, mounted on an elephant in such a way that his face could not be distinguished. The next morning the vezir went to the castle; and after having again requested to have the offices he had before-mentioned conferred on him, he enumerated the various grievances which he as well as his brother had been suffering for many years; and history has preserved his very words: "In return for the important services we have rendered you in times of weakness and distress; in return for the blood our family have shed in your service, as we had already done in that of your father and grandfather,—such faithful servants have experienced nothing but mistrust and

suspicion, and a variety of plots have been contrived against our lives and honour. In proof of which assertion we want no more than this letter, which you wrote to that savage Daud-khan Peny, exhorting him to arm himself for the destruction of so meritorious and innocent a servant as my brother, Hussein Ali-khan. Nor do we need any other vouchers than the repeated and pressing orders which you have been continually sending to all the great chiefs of the Deckan, for the purpose of exciting them against us. Now there remains but one expedient, in order to quiet the minds of us your faithful servants; which is, to put us in possession of the two offices which we have requested, instead of leaving them still in the hands of strangers, who make it a point to mislead your mind: for unless we obtain those two favours, it will be unsafe for us to come as subjects to the castle; and as servants impossible to serve you, as our master, with any confidence."

To this speech the emperor, still thoughtless as ever, answered only by promising that he would shortly comply with all their requests; and this at a time when he saw that matters had come to such a crisis that he had no alternative left but to acknowledge the Seids for his masters. The conversation meanwhile being protracted, ended in an altercation, in which high words and harsh expres-

sions were interchanged. The emperor, unable to contain himself, called both the vezir and Etikad-khan names, and made use of unbecoming language. The latter foolishly endeavoured to pacify the emperor; when the vezir stopped him short, by making use of the most opprobrious abuse towards him, and causing him to be taken out of the castle immediately. Etikad-khan, thunder-struck, lost his presence of mind, and thought only of saving his life; he retreated rapidly, and meeting his head-accomptant's palky, he got into it, and fled as fast as the bearers could convey him. The city was instantly in an uproar; which was occasioned by multitudes of people running to and fro through every street and lane. The emperor seemed now, for the first time, to perceive his real situation. He submitted to his fate, and retired into the sanctuary, or women's apartment, where he took up his abode, unmindful all the while of the sentence of the word of God which says, "Death shall find ye out, be ye shut up even in iron towers."

The vezir with Ajit-sing slept that night within the castle, whilst the emperor's zealous servants were obliged to take up their abodes without. In that night of screams and distraction, which resembled that darkness that is to precede the day of judgment, nothing was heard throughout the city but confused noises, nor did any one know

what might actually be passing within the castle; for the vezir's troops having taken possession of every great street and market, as well as of all the gates, passed the night under arms; whilst the Mahratta officers with their cavalry remained on horseback, in momentary expectation of being called on. At dawn of day every citizen rose in a state of incertitude, and with a mind fluctuating between hope and fear, when a report was spread that the vezir had been killed, and nothing was heard in the streets and markets but cries and screams. Just in that moment of suspense, some nobles, incensed at Ferokh-siar's reverse of fortune, of which they heard only from common report, thought it incumbent on them to run to the emperor's assistance, and as they thought to support his defenders. These were Saadet-khan, his father-in-law, Ghazi-ed-din-khan-kusa, and the brave Akgar-khan Turk. These three officers mounted, and advanced towards the castle with what troops they could collect; but Nizam-ul-mulk and Khan Douran thought it most prudent to stay at home. On the other hand, Mahomed Amin-khan mounted likewise, but in order to go to the vezir's assistance. In this state of affairs, a body of troops, called the Kamel-poshes, or blanket-wearers, going to join Khan Douran, fell in with a party of Mahratta horse, who forbade their passing. This threat was

received by the others with a shower of arrows, whilst Mahomed Amin-khan's standards made their appearance on the opposite side. The Mahrattas, who took them all for enemies, and finding themselves cooped up within walls, where they could only fight in streets and lanes, took fright, and putting spur to their horses, fled on all sides without further inquiry. This step encouraged the idlers and sharpers who thronged the streets, especially the Mogols, and other disbanded soldiers of the court, who already incensed at the intrusion of those infidels, rushed upon them, and commenced to attack them. The Mahrattas, surprised at finding enemies in every street and at every door, dispersed and fled to their camp, leaving fifteen hundred of their men dead upon the spot; who, as well as the whole corps of one Santa,* and of two or three officers more, were hacked to pieces. They left also a great number of wounded men. The horses of the slain were laid hold on by the victors, and by the mob, who on breaking some saddles by accident, were surprised to find them stuffed full of pieces of gold.

At this moment Mahomed Amin-khan arrived with his troops in the viceroy's camp, where he was received with the highest applause for his conduct. Whilst this scene was passing in the

* Santaji Kadam.

streets, Saadet-khan with his five sons reached the castle at the head of a body of troops, as did Ghazi-ed-din-khan with another body; the opposite streets were filled by the troops brought by the favourite Etikad-khan, and by the late grand master of artillery, Seid-khan; these were followed by three thousand Hindus in the emperor's pay, under the command of Malhar-row, an officer of trust; all these occupied posts in and about Saad-ullah-khan's market, and prepared for attack. These movements becoming known in the viceroy's camp, as well as the rumour of the vezir's death, a rumour confirmed by the disorderly flight of the Mahrattas, the whole of the viceroy's army was in the utmost confusion, when luckily for him, certain intelligence arrived at this critical moment of the vezir's being alive and safe. This news having revived the viceroy's spirits, he despatched a choice body of his best troops to expel the troops that had assembled in Saad-ullah-khan's market. They fell upon the enemy furiously, and commenced a sharp engagement; in the midst of which, Ghazi-ed-din-khan's elephant being wounded in the trunk by a rocket, turned about, and ran off with his master, who was immediately followed by his whole corps. Saadet-khan, together with his five sons, were wounded at the same time, and quitted the field, while Etikad-khan, after having made

some movements without any inclination to fight, retired to his house, and fortified it. His person was but of small moment, but his trepidation and flight became a signal for his troops to fall upon several shops in the streets near Saad-ullah-khan's market, which were all plundered. The brave Akgar-khan now appeared from the suburbs at the head of a body of Moguls and other foreigners, to support the emperor. He found the Lahore gate shut, and the walls lined with the enemy's troops. Mortified at such a disappointment he was obliged to return. Some firing and fighting was still kept up in the streets and lanes, when proclamation was made by a number of public criers, that Ferokh-siar was confined, and had ceased to reign, and that the prince Refi-ed-derjat had ascended the throne. The imperial music now striking up, and cessation of arms being proclaimed, with injunctions to every one to return to his home, the king's party recovered from their despair, the citizens retired to their homes, and the tumult subsided.

Ferokh-siar had retired within the apartment of the ladies, and the vizir with Ajit-sing were waiting in expectation of his coming out, to hear what further he had to say, and of his furnishing them with an opportunity to seize his person, when the tumults, that had apparently subsided, commenced afresh, and pillage and slaughter were renewed.

Ferokh-siar did not appear, and the viceroy, sensible of the fatal consequence of any further delay, sent message after message, representing to his brother that the tumults were increasing, that the throngs of armed men were becoming more numerous, that a general revolt was about to take place, and could not fail to defeat their purpose, and that therefore he ought to enter the city at once. Whilst this last message was delivering, a body of Afghan soldiers, mixed up with some of the vezir's slaves, found means from the top of the house of Nejm-ed-din Ali-khan, the vezir's youngest brother, to descend within the yard of the king's female apartments, which proved to be guarded by a number of Abyssinian, Georgian, and Calmuc women. These being driven away, the soldiers penetrated within the gate, and every apartment was searched for Ferokh-siar. At last some women, too delicate to bear the tortures to which they were exposed, pointed to the place of his confinement, and the soldiers ran to him. At this sight that emperor's mother, with his wife and daughter, unable to witness his seizure without emotion, ran to his assistance, with a number of princesses and ladies of the first rank; who, having enclosed him within a circle which they formed round his person, addressed the soldiers with prayers and entreaties. But of what avail could be their tears at such a moment? After

some struggle, he was disengaged from the women, dragged upon the ground, and thrown into a small dark room on the top of the Tirpowliah; and all this with such outrage and indignity as had never before been offered to the Imperial person.

His reign, without reckoning the time of Moiz-ed-din Jehandar-shah's elevation, lasted six years and four months. The men of letters have found in this sentence of holy writ the chronogram commemorating this event—

"Take warning, ye that have eyes."

The vezir having disposed of Ferokh-siar in this manner, thought that, as the whole city was yet in confusion, it was incumbent upon him to proclaim another emperor; he therefore produced Shems-ed-din Refi-ed-derjat the younger, son of Refi-al-kadr, the nephew of Bahadur-shah, by a daughter of the Prince Acber, the youngest son of Aurengzib. This event took place on Wednesday, about nine o'clock in the morning, of the second of Rebi-us-sani, in the year of the Hegira 1132. The young prince was then twenty years old; and, as the confusion throughout the city did not admit of time sufficient to send him to the bath, or even to change his clothes, he was taken in haste from the apartments of his confinement, and placed upon the throne, wearing only a string of large pearls, which Abdullah-khan had just time

Rebi-us-sani, A.H. 1132. February, A.D. 1720.

to take off his own neck, and to throw over his robe just as it was. The imperial band having struck up to announce this event to the people, the uproar ceased, and in a little time the tumult every where subsided.

The vezir, after so eventful a day, thought proper to pass that night in the citadel, surrounded by a numerous body of his bravest and most trusty friends, having previously placed at the only gate left open a guard on which he could depend. Not satisfied with these precautions, when it became necessary to form a household for the young emperor, he appointed the whole of it from his household and dependents, down to the eunuchs, chamberlains, menial servants, cooks, and water-carriers. As a further precaution, he placed his own guards every where, and filled all the avenues to the palace, and even to the private apartments, with his own dependents. The next day the new emperor having, according to custom, given a public audience, Ajitsing and Rattan Chand supplicated that all Hindus throughout the empire might be relieved from the poll-tax.* This favour was granted; and orders were

* This odious tax, abolished by the wise Acber, was renewed in the reign of Aurengzib, and had continued without intermission till this time, and it is believed by the Hindus, and by most reflecting persons well read in the history of the times, that to this impolitic measure, and the excessive impost on the land, the downfal of the Mahomedan power is mainly to be attributed.

at the same time despatched confirming in their respective commands all governors, commanders, viceroys, and crown officers. In the mean time, Etikad-khan was confined, and his public estate resumed; while his palace, wherein he had amassed immense treasure in gold and silver, costly jewels, and exquisite stuffs, was taken possession of. On searching for this treasure, there was discovered another secret hoard, consisting of gems and jewels of amazing value, which had been presented to him by Ferokh-siar; but which now served only to enhance his disgrace, and to add to the affronts imposed upon him. The whole of this wealth was seized for the vezir's use. At the same time were resumed all the public and private lands which Ferokh-siar had bestowed on his other sycophants: none were spared but that which was enjoyed by the Rany, his consort, out of regard to Ajit-sing her father. The military chiefs and officers of the body-guard, called Wala-shahies, who enjoyed lands until they could be paid in ready money, were deprived of them in the same manner; and as to the common troopers, they were given to understand that if they wanted service they must repair to the viceroy's camp, where they would be enlisted at the rate of fifty rupees per month,*

* The troopers of this description not only provide themselves with arms and their horses with fodder, but are required

one with another. Mahomed Amin-khan, already second in command, was confirmed in his office, and Jafer-khan succeeded Seif-ullah-khan as third in command. Nizam-ul-Mulk was created viceroy of Malwa, although he was so far from being reconciled to the times that he repeatedly refused office. Ser-belend-khan, who had been appointed governor of Cabul some time before the revolution, and who had on that account halted at fifteen coss distant from the capital to see what would be the fate of the emperor, was sent for, and received anew the patent and investiture of that government; after which ceremony he took leave with suitable honour. The rich office of Fojdar of Muradabad was given to Seif-ed-din Ali-khan, the vezir's youngest brother. One Mahomed Reza was appointed supreme judge of the court, and Amir-khan Alemgiry, who had before held the government of Acberabad was made Sadr-el-sudur.* Dianet-khan was made superintendant of finance, as was also Raja-bakht-mul of the military chest; but all these officers, together with those connected with finance and administration, were held to be no more than the deputies of Rattan Chand. Himmet-khan, one of the vezir's

to provide the horses themselves, which must be of a certain size and description, and pass a committee before they are admitted.

* This office answers to that of Lord Chancellor.

friends, was made keeper of the privy-purse, and also tutor to the young emperor; and several other lucrative offices were also bestowed upon him. As to the offices and governments that were at a distance from the capital, no change was attempted in them, for fear of losing all authority in those remote parts. The government of Mando alone was taken from Mahomed-khan, the officer who had slighted the viceroy of the Deckan when he passed through his district, and was given to Hussein Ali-khan, a Turany chief. Raja Ajit-sing, had become particularly unpopular for the part he had acted in the revolution, and in order to get rid of the eternal curses and hootings of the populace, wished to retire to his government of Guzerat, did not obtain leave, but was required to remain for the present at the capital.

The account of the fate of Ferokh-siar having been related in two different ways by two men of distinction and credit, both of whom were at the time upon the scene of action, we shall insert the statement of each, leaving the truth or falsehood of either narrative to be decided by the respective merits of each. The one observes, " I have heard from men of honour and veracity, that the two brothers never entertained thoughts of attempting Ferokh-siar's life, or had ever intended to ill-use him; their only view being to secure his person,

for which purpose they placed him under charge of a trusty Afghan officer, who was to have him under his eye night and day. Nevertheless, it happened that Ferokh-siar availed himself of an opportunity to steal away unperceived in the dusk of the evening, and going from terrace to terrace, he wanted to jump down, being already at a distance from the place of his confinement, when the Afghan returned. On not finding his prisoner, and knowing that his own life was at stake, he searched narrowly every where, and spying some one at a distance lurking under the shadow of the prison-wall, he threw himself upon him, and brought back the captive emperor. That vile fellow had no sooner replaced him in confinement, than making him sit on the floor, he with that hardness of heart and that brutality which seem to distinguish the Afghans, beat him unmercifully. Ferokh-siar, unable to submit to such usage, ran to the wall, and dashed his head with so much violence against it that his skull was fractured, and he died on the spot."

Hashem Ali-khan Khafi, the son of Kḥwaja-mir the historian, refers Ferokh-siar's death to an express order from the two brothers, betraying at the same time throughout his work, the utmost detestation of, and enmity towards them and their family; but as it is possible that I may incur the

imputation of partiality for them, I have thought it right to quote his own words, save that of correcting some grammatical errors which had crept into the narrative, either through the writer's inaccuracy, or from the copyist's ignorance. Let then the credibility of the following account rest with its author.

"Two months had already elapsed since that unfortunate prince (Ferokh-siar) had been confined in that narrow dungeon, where he experienced a variety of hardships, when a red-hot needle was passed through his eyes, a cruel operation, which however did not deprive him entirely of sight. Worn out by such repeated instances of barbarity, that ill-fated prince, in the simplicity of heart natural to one in his distress, betook himself to several expedients for putting an end to his sufferings. At one time he would send to his enemies excuses for his former conduct, promising to let them govern the empire, if they would but replace him on the throne. At another he would turn towards the Afghan, Abdullah-khan (for such was his keeper's name), and would offer him an immense sum of money if he would but carry him as far as the dominions of Raja Jye-sing Sevay. All this was minutely reported to the two brothers, who being incessantly instigated by their courtiers, as well as prompted by their own fears,

determined to put an end to so dangerous a life. To effect their purpose, they caused poison to be mixed on two different occasions with his food, without effect, but the third time, the dose operated ; and as they went to see how the unfortunate man's soul was wrung out of his body, he lost all patience, and after having reproached them in severe terms for their atrocious ingratitude, and disregard of solemn oaths, he wondered that the sacred volume itself had not worked a miracle instantly for the punishment of so much perfidy. He even vented reproaches against the Majesty of Divine justice, which had supinely suffered such wicked men to live. While in the act of venting his feelings in this reproachful strain, the vezir ordered a leathern thong to be strained round his neck. The unfortunate prince laid hold of it with both hands so as to keep it from his neck, and having struggled with his hands and feet, the two barbarians (the Seid brothers) ordered his hands to be parted by dint of blows. The prince suffered for a length of time all the agonies of a lingering death, and at last departed this life."

"It is true that a report then prevailed, and does to this very day, that the two brothers finished him by plunging their poignards into his bowels; but this report was contradicted to me by the person who superintended the execution. He never

could relate that mournful event without shedding abundance of tears, and without bitterly lamenting his situation on that occasion. He has been heard positively to say, that there was no stabbing at all. Be that as it may, the body remained for six-and-thirty hours unattended to and unburied, and it was only after such an interval that it was thought of. At that time it was purified according to the rites of our religion, put upon a bier, and carried to the emperor Humayun's sepulchre. On its being brought out, two or three thousand needy men and women, who used to be fed by his liberality, tore their clothes, covered their heads and faces with dust and ashes, and having surrounded the hearse, accompanied it the whole way, shedding abundance of tears, and pouring forth curses and execrations upon his enemies, whom they reviled with the grossest epithets. Two persons of distinction, namely, Dilaver Ali-khan and Seid Ali-khan, both officers of high rank, were sent to attend the body as chief mourners, followed by a crowd of the principal citizens; but no sooner had the procession quitted the suburbs, than the chief mourners were hooted and several times assailed with stones, brick-bats, and clods of earth. Nor would any one out of that multitude of needy people accept of the money brought for distribution, or partake of the victuals prepared in con-

formity to custom. On the third day after, a number of poor people having assembled in a peaceable manner at the place where Ferokh-siar's body had been washed and perfumed, made a collection amongst themselves and prepared a large quantity of food, which they distributed to others; they sent likewise for several readers of the Koran, and having passed the whole night with them in prayers and lamentations, they departed in an orderly manner.

"Oh wonderful God! How did thy divine justice manifest itself in the several events of this revolution! His enemies had many causes for being expeditious with him, and many motives of hatred besides, that one would think it was incumbent upon them if his death was to take place, to make him pass rapidly from this little fragile habitation into the other world. Ferokh-siar, in his days of power had strangled his own brothers, yet in their tender years; he had murdered numbers of innocent persons, and blinded others; and he was therefore destined to suffer all these cruelties, before he was permitted to die; he was doomed to experience from the hands of strangers all those agonies which others had suffered at his. Nor did the two brothers escape the day of retribution, or go themselves unpunished. In a little time they met with that same usage which they had

inflicted on others." Thus far Hashem Ali-khan Khafi.

The two brothers, after having disposed of Ferokh-siar, took possession of the imperial treasures, elephants, horses, rich furniture, ready money, and exquisite jewels. It is even reported that Abdullah-khan, who was exceedingly addicted to the female sex, carried away some women of incomparable beauty from the seraglio; but this God only knows.

Soon after this fatal event, it was remarked that all cordiality had ceased between the two brothers, and although that coolness did not appear in public, it was perceived by their friends, and several circumstances evinced the fact to bye-standers. There was some inequality in the merit of these two celebrated persons. It was universally acknowledged that Hussein Ali-khan, the younger, was superior to his elder brother in many qualifications, which bountiful heaven had bestowed on him. In actual power he excelled all the princes of his time, nay, he surpassed several that bore a character in history, for having bestowed kingdoms and crowns, and conquered empires; but neither his power nor his life was destined to endure long. If they had, it is probable that the times which we have now the mortification to behold, would not be so humiliating as they have proved, nor had the honour of

Hindoostan been thrown to the winds, nor the Indian nobility and gentry been reduced to that deplorable condition, to which we now see them brought.

Unfortunately for the two brothers, the young emperor Rafi-ed-derjat laboured under a consumption, and was subject to a spitting of blood, which soon put an end to his reign; so that three months and some days after he had submitted to the odium of ascending the throne, he departed this life on a Saturday, the twenty-first of Rejeb. His younger brother, Refi-ed-dowlah, was now brought forth and seated in his stead, while the two Seids continued to dispose of every thing in the empire as before. These two sickly young princes seemed to have just made their appearance upon the theatre of the world with the bare title of emperors, in order to be immediately withdrawn; and were like two travellers who had made a short pause on the throne, in order to continue their journey towards the regions of eternity. We therefore hardly know any thing of them. The elevation of Niko-siar, son of prince Acber, and grandson of Aurengzib, who was then confined at Acber-abad, took place in Refi-ed-dowlah's life-time; we have therefore thought it expedient to bring into one point of view all that we have been able to collect of those three persons of the race of Timur, in order to

21 Rejeb, A.H. 1132. 16 June, A.D. 1720.

connect it with the body of our history : what little we do know concerning the younger prince has been carefully ascertained, although the lives of both were so obscure, and themselves so little the objects of attention, that their very names are hardly known even at this day.

A short time after Refi-ed-dowlah had been brought from his prison to the throne, another prince of the imperial family, who was confined in the citadel of Acberabad, was proclaimed by the governor and officers of the place, as well as by the militia of the villages subordinate to that fortress, and recognized by the officers of cavalry dependent on the governor of the province, all of whom soon formed a court about his person. His name was Niko-siar : he was a younger son of the prince Acber. His supporters were assisted by the inhabitants of the city of Acberabad, who, on seeing the convulsions that shook the empire, willingly embraced his cause. Such an event being likely to prove dangerous to the two brothers, they resolved to stifle it at once. They accordingly quitted the capital, and taking with them the young emperor Refi-ed-dowlah, and the principal persons of the city and court, marched to Acberabad, and laid siege to the fort. Niko-siar did not betray any want of courage or capacity in defending the place, but the gates were blown open, and

he was seized and confined. The garrison was relieved, and punishment inflicted on the officers of the fort, and on the commanders of the militia, who had plotted the revolution. This success did not tranquillize the minds of the two brothers. The young emperor Refi-ed-dowlah was found to be consumptive as well as his elder brother, and although the vezir spared no pains in bringing together the ablest physicians of the empire, his care and anxiety proved of no avail. This prince, after a nominal reign even shorter than that of his predecessor, gave evident signs of his drawing to his end. In a short time his life was despaired of, and the two Seid brothers, who needed some pageant for the throne, sent two nobles to bring another prince from the castle of Selimgur, which is a part of the citadel of Dehli. These persons were Nejm-ed-din Ali-khan, their younger brother, and Gholam Ali-khan; although some people say that the first, as governor of the province of Dehli, was alone entrusted with that commission, and that the other only accompanied him. The orders were to bring Roshen-akhter, son of Khujistah-akhter, commonly called Jehan-shah, one of the sons of Bahadur-shah. This young prince was then in his eighteenth year, and from the accession of his uncle Moiz-ed-din to the throne, under the title of Jehandar-shah, he had lived in obscurity in an

apartment of the castle of Selimgur. He was a youth of beautiful aspect, his beard just budding. He had a benevolent countenance, in which shone that acuteness of mind which seemed to prognosticate all his future greatness. He was not yet arrived at Acberabad, when news arrived that Refi-ed-dowlah was dying. His death, which soon after occurred, was kept a secret (some say) for a whole week, others say for ten days, until his successor could arrive: then the coffin of the deceased prince was carried to the mausoleum of Khwaja Kutb-ed-din, where he was buried in the same manner as his brother. This event left the throne open for Roshen-akhter.

The prince arrived at Fatehpoor, and on the fifteenth of the same month, in the year 1132 of the Hegira, at about four astronomical hours of the morning, he availed himself of a fortunate hour to step forth and grace the throne with all the attractions to which he was heir. The steps of that sublime place were dignified by his accession, and silver and gold coin, distributed on the occasion, acquired additional value from the honour of his name. He assumed the auspicious title* of Abul-fateh, Nasir-ed-din, Mahomed-shah. From that moment provisions, which had risen to an immo-

A. H. 1132. A.D. 1720.

* The lord or father of victory, the champion of the faith, the king Mahomed.

derate price, became cheaper, and once more plenty shewed her face in every market. The king's mother was a princess of great acuteness and wisdom, and had taken care to foster with attention, in the shade of obscurity and silence, that fondling of the sun of glory. Fully sensible of the difficulty and delicacy of her situation, she made a point to conform herself to the will of the two brothers, whose authority was paramount; and her prudence was so great, that when she quitted the capital to pay a visit to her son, at Acberabad, she went attended with a slender retinue, and declined the voluntary attendance of numbers of people of distinction who had been in the service of her husband Jehan-shah. On hearing that they were preparing to follow her, and to augment her train, she requested them to forbear, and even forbade their coming to the gate of her apartment and sending in their offerings.

The three preceding reigns had been so short as to serve only to confound history; it was commanded, therefore, that the seven or eight months which had elapsed under the short-lived reigns of those three princes should be omitted entirely, and that they should be comprehended within that of Mahomed-shah's reign, which was thus made to commence immediately on Ferokh-siar's demise. At the same time, to provide for some of the most

urgent expenses of his mother's female household, a sum of fifteen thousand rupees was allotted for that purpose. But the command of the Gulal-para,* and the office of nazir, or steward of the household, were conferred on trusty eunuchs of the vezir's selection, as had been the practice under the three preceding princes (on whom be mercy for ever); and the minister, in providing eunuchs, guards, elephant-drivers, menial servants, cooks, and even water-carriers, took care to place none in that number but his own dependants. It was on the same principle that Himmet-khan, one of the vezir's intimates, a man who enjoyed already five or six offices, was placed over the new monarch as his governor, and entrusted with the charge of the privy purse and with the treasury of the palace. All this was patiently submitted to by the young emperor, who, sensible of the delicacy of his situation, made no opposition to the vezir's pleasure, and had the good sense to shew him every mark of deference and regard. This did not effect the least abatement of the jealousy with which he was watched; for whenever he went abroad, which happened once or twice a month, for the purpose of taking an airing, the king was encircled by a body of Seids, who did not lose sight of him a moment, nor ever carry him farther than

* The incense and perfume-apartment.

the seats and gardens in the suburbs, which at most are at one or two coss from the palace, and they always came back before the dusk of the evening. Whilst the vezir was busy in quieting the capital, disaffection was rising in the neighbouring provinces.

Chebilram Nagar, governor of the province of Ilahabad, refused to acknowledge the new king's authority, thinking it unsafe to do so, on account of some improper behaviour on his part towards the two brothers. The latter, in return, resolved to make an example of him; and Hussein Ali-khan had already sent his camp-equipage forward, when news arrived that the obnoxious governor had died suddenly. This news was gratifying to the viceroy; but as it deprived him of an opportunity of distinguishing himself, he was heard to say, "Is it not a pity that we should be deprived of the pleasure of seeing that proud man's head on the point of a spear?" Immediately after, news came that Giridhar Bahadur, son of Dia Bahadur, and the cousin of Chebilram, had seized on the government after his uncle's demise, and was raising troops and repairing the fortifications of Ilahabad. The viceroy, on this intelligence, ordered a bridge of boats to be thrown across the Jumnah, and sending for Mahomed Shah to Acberabad, he gave out that he was going to attack Ilahabad. It was at this crisis

that Amir-jumlah made his appearance, and was invested with the office of grand-almoner. This circumstance did not hinder Rattan Chand from continuing to act in all matters relative to the finance of the government, and he interfered even in judicial and religious concerns, in a way that reduced the crown officers to the condition of cyphers. It was impossible to become a kazy of any city without the consent of this Hindu being previously obtained. One day he brought to the vezir a person whom he had appointed kazy or judge of some city, when the minister turned towards a nobleman sitting near him at the time, and said with a smile, "Our Rattan Chand, you see, can make kazies, and even recommends to ecclesiastical preferments." The other answered, "True, my lord: the lord raja, after having finished his worldly concerns, is now turning his attention to religious affairs." *

All this while the preparations for the siege of Ilahabad were going on with so much vigour, that Giridhar's vakil or agent thought it full time to

* The Mahomedan kazy (or cadi) is a judge, but whose law is derived from the Koran, he is therefore an ecclesiastical judge. Rattan Chand was a Hindu, and was not supposed to know any thing of Moslem scriptures; the repartee of the nobleman is therefore peculiarly smart, because it shews at once the folly of allowing him to interfere in those appointments, and indirectly adverts to the probability of the Hindu apostatizing from his own religion, by turning his attention to religious affairs.

come to camp, and entreat the viceroy's forgiveness for his master's conduct. He offered to submit on condition of being suffered to remain in his government, or of having another in exchange, with the addition of some title of honour. The conditions were accepted: Giridhar was required to surrender the castle of Ilahabad and his government, and to be transferred to that of Oude, with the title of Bahadur. But whilst this agreement was discussing, commotions arose in the country of Bundy, in consequence of certain disputes regarding an hereditary principality, from which Raja Bhim-sing, the heir, had been ejected by Bud'h-sing. The displaced prince retired to the viceroy's camp, to whom he paid his court assiduously, in hopes of being reinstated; and at last he obtained a body of six thousand cavalry, all veteran troops and all Seids of Barha, who considered themselves as so many kinsmen of the two brothers. They were commanded by Seid Dilaver Ali-khan, who had orders to reinstate the Hindu prince, and then to repair with him, and with another Hindu prince called Gaj-sing, as far as the frontiers of Malwa, there to wait for further orders. As little reliance was reposed on the promises made by Giridhar, a large body of good troops was sent under Heider Kuly-khan towards Ilahabad, to enforce the execution of the treaty. Heider Kuly-khan, who was a man of

character and abilities, laid siege to that fortress, but, as he had not the sole command, little progress was made in the siege, the governor having frequently entered into negociations for surrendering the place, and then suddenly breaking them off and driving the besiegers from their works. The siege being thus protracted, Hussein Ali-khan crossed the Jumnah, and marched towards Ilahabad. The report of this movement intimidated the besieged: Giridhar retired within his fortress, into which he introduced a great quantity of ammunition and provisions. His family, at the same time, gave countenance to the refractory spirits of that province, and the holders of Jaghir lands in particular availed themselves of that opportunity to withhold their payments. Such a state of things embarrassed the viceroy; he reflected on the great strength of the place, situated at the confluence of two large rivers, on the courage and personal talents of Giridhar, and on the increasing difficulties he would probably encounter in a siege likely to be protracted. This he knew would at all events occupy much precious time, while his presence was required in other parts of the empire, where the enemies of his family might avail themselves of his absence to excite commotions. Sensible of the difficulties of his situation, he was discouraged to persevere by some symptoms of disunion which

then occurred between himself and his elder brother, the vezir Abdullah-khan. The difference arose concerning the jewels and treasure found in the castle of Acberabad, and several angry messages passed and repassed between them, but only privately, for Rattan Chand did every thing in his power to conceal these dissensions from the public.

Whilst the viceroy was hesitating in his mind how to act, letters came from Giridhar, promising to submit, if Rattan Chand were sent with full power to guarantee the former conditions and the safety of his person. The two brothers, desirous of accommodating matters, dismissed Rattan Chand, who setting out about the end of Rebi-us-sani, arrived at the city of Ilahabad, when the governor of the fortress paid him a visit, and a treaty was concluded, which these two Hindus both swore, by the waters of the Ganges, to maintain inviolably. By this treaty the government of the province of Oude was given to Giridhar, with all the Fojdaries* contained in it, in lieu of the fortress of Ilahabad; which being evacuated, received a new garrison, and thus came again into the hands of the two ministerial brothers. This event occurred in the second year of Mahomed-shah's reign.

Rebi-us-sani, A.H. 1132. June, A.D. 1720.

* Estates the revenues of which are set aside to support troops.

Whilst the insurrections in the northern parts of the empire were thus put down, discontent and broils of a very threatening aspect arose in the south.

We have already mentioned that Nizam-ul-mulk had reluctantly accepted the government of Malwa. He found the province infested with banditti, and its tranquillity otherwise disturbed by a number of refractory zemindars, who were not to be brought under subjection without much trouble and perseverance. But the subject which most embarrassed Nizam-ul-mulk originated on account of Mahomed-khan, the governor of the fortress of Mando, who had been removed by Hussein Ali-khan for having, when he passed close to the walls, neglected to pay him a visit. This neglect was resented, and Kassim Kuly-khan, a Turany officer, had been appointed in his stead as governor of Mando. Mahomed-khan refused, under various pretences, to deliver over the fortress, and Kassim Kuly-khan wrote to court to complain of the delay, and obtained an order from court to Nizam-ul mulk, governor-general of Malwa, to see placed therein Kassim Kuly-khan. Nizam-ul-mulk, who entertained a favourable opinion of Mahomed-khan, sent for him, and persuaded him to surrender the place quietly; and as he discovered considerable talents in that officer, he took him

into his own service, and seized the first occasion to employ him. In the anarchy that had prevailed in the province, owing to the neglect of the court, the fortress of Rahatgur had been seized by a refractory zemindar of the neighbourhood, whom Nizam-ul-mulk desired to expel. On this service he despatched Mahomed-khan, the late governor of Mando, at the head of a body of troops. He performed the duty with great promptitude, and flattered himself that it would soften the asperity of the two Seid brothers: but they were irreconcileable.

Nizam-ul-mulk afterwards employed the same officer to rid the province of banditti that lurked in it, and of bringing the whole of the zemindars into submission. This service he also successfully performed, by having, in the first instance, secured certain difficult passes and strong-holds in the district of Chandery, which served as a retreat to numberless free-booters.

As soon as Nizam-ul-mulk saw every thing settled in his government, he turned his attention towards increasing the number of his troops, filling his magazines, exercising his officers and soldiers, and in making new acquisitions in the district of Chandery.

Such warlike preparations were not concealed from Abdullah-khan, who received daily infor-

mation from his intelligencers; but he felt another subject of inquietude. He obtained information that Mahomed Amin-khan, instead of speaking Hindustany, was in the habit of making use of the Turkish language when he entered into close conversation with the emperor, and he also learned that he held secret correspondence with Nizam-ul-mulk,* about whose person there were more troops than he had occasion for, whilst he entertained a still more numerous body under the command of the disaffected officer Mahomed-khan. This intelligence gave such inquietude to the brothers, that Hussein Ali-khan the younger, who was viceroy of the Deckan, wrote to Nizam-ul-mulk, that as both he and his brother, with a view to put an end to the internal troubles of the Deckan, wished to establish their residence in the province of Malwa, midway between the Deckan and the capital, they hoped that, to accommodate them, Nizam-ul-mulk would take his choice of the four governments of Multan, Candeish, Acberabad, or Ilahabad. This letter produced the very breach it was intended to prevent. Nizam-ul-mulk, already discontented at Dilaver Ali-khan's being encamped upon the limits of his government with an army in the interest of the Seids, and suspicious

* Nizam-ul-mulk, though born in India, was of Turany parents.

of his motives in affecting a junction with the Hindu princes Raja Bhim-sing and Raja Gaj-sing, whose presence excited commotions amongst the zemindars of his frontier, answered the moderate letter of Hussein Ali-khan's in a haughty style.

The brothers sent for his principal agent at court, with whom they had some sharp conversation, which ended in threats against his master. Nizam-ul-mulk having received intelligence of this proceeding, and having also learned that Mahomed Amin-khan was endeavouring to kindle the indignation of the young emperor against him, concluded that the preservation of his own power and life, as well as that of all the foreign nobles and other numerous persons of distinction, depended on the downfall of the two brothers. He had also reason to be excessively provoked at the insolent behaviour of Rattan Chand and Ajit-sing, the Hindu agents of the Seids. Full of these feelings, he held a consultation with his friends and military chiefs, and resolved to display openly the standard of revolt. He accordingly wrote a short letter to the two brothers, and coming out of his palace with Abd-ur-rahim-khan, Marhamet-khan, and Rahim-khan, he put himself at the head of his army, which, including his old troops and his new levies, amounted to twelve thousand horse. This

occurred about the middle of the month of Jumad-
Jumad-us-sani, A.H. 1132. April, A.D. 1721. us-sani, in the year 1132 of the Hegira, which answers to the second year of Mahomed-shah's reign. He was in the neighbourhood of the town of Sironj, where he had been long encamped in order to overawe a number of refractory chiefs on that frontier. His purpose being now accomplished, he decamped suddenly, and marched to the south.

This intelligence arrived at Acberabad in a few days, and soon became public. The vezir wrote immediately to Dilaver Ali-khan and to the two Hindu princes to follow Nizam-ul-mulk rapidly, recommending them at the same time to gain over the numerous clans of Afghans settled throughout the Deckan, after which their business would be to crush Nizam-el-mulk before he should have time to make head.

These disorders throughout the kingdom afforded a bad example, so that the meanest men availed themselves of their distance from the capital to aspire at independence.

One Hussein-khan Afghan, head-man of the town of Cossore in the Penjab, had for many years taken possession of the best districts about Cossore and Lahore, where he acted as if he was the hereditary sovereign. These troubles commenced whilst Abd-us-semed-khan, the viceroy of Lahore, was occu-

pied against the Siks, during which time the Afghans expelled his collectors and the crown-officers. After this he assembled troops, and hearing that Kutb-ed-din-khan, an officer of character, was marching against him, he encountered him on the way, destroyed or dispersed his cavalry, took all his baggage, and slew the commander. This victory raised his character, and he soon found himself at the head of eight or nine thousand horse, with which he levied his contributions far and near, so that the viceroy himself, whose force was reduced to seven or eight thousand horse about his person, found it necessary to march against him. The two armies met at Chaony, about thirty coss from Lahore. Abd-us-semed-khan gave the command of his centre to Kerim Kuly-khan, his chief commander; on his right he placed Jany-khan and Khwaja Rahmet-ullah, two of his relations, both men of tried valour; the whole being under the command of Hafiz Ali-khan, brother to Khan Mirza. The advance consisted of a body of one thousand Rohilla Afghans, which he knew to be personally hostile to the rebel. On his left he placed Arif-khan, his lieutenant, with Akgar-khan, and he took post in their front. On the opposite side, Hussein-khan put his own nephew Mustefa-khan in his first line, together with Rahmet-khan, Seid-khan, and some other Afghan commanders,

all mounted upon elephants. No sooner had the combat commenced by a fire of musketry, than Hussein-khan advanced at full gallop towards the enemy's artillery, through which having passed, he pushed on to Kerim Kuly-khan, whom he unhorsed at the first onset, and made a great slaughter of his men. Following up his blow, he fell next on Akgar-khan, whose troops being mostly new levies, were soon broken, so that their commander remained with only five or six hundred veterans, all Turanies, armed with bows. These troops unwilling to forsake their general, discharged such showers of arrows that they threw the Afghans into disorder. Akgar-khan now rushed upon the enemy, and encouraging his men both by his voice and example, made such havoc amongst the Afghans, that Mustefa-khan was slain, together with the greater part of the three thousand men who had followed him. Hussein-khan, meantime, pushed on with ardour against Abd-us-semed-khan himself, so that this general was on the point of being borne down amid the host of men wounded and slain around him. At this critical moment Akgar-khan arrived with his corps of victorious Turanies, and changed the face of affairs. Just then, the driver of Hussein-khan's elephant fell dead from his seat. Shah Baz-beg, that chief's religious preceptor, and who used always to be seated on his

right hand, was also killed; while Hussein-khan himself being struck in the forehead by a musket-ball by Hafiz Ali-khan, fell down likewise. From this moment a panic seized the Afghan troops, and the trappings and cushions on the elephant having taken fire, the troops of Hussein-khan, who had lost almost all their officers, deserted their ranks, and fled in disorder. Abd-us-semed-khan rewarded his commanders upon the field of battle. Akgar-khan, who had so much contributed to the success of the day, received the additional military grade of five hundred horse, and two hundred more were added to the six hundred horse already under his command; he was also presented with an elephant, a dagger, and a sabre.

On the report of this victory at court, the two brothers wrote letters of congratulation to the viceroy, and the title of Seif-ed-dowlah, or sword of the state, was superadded to those already borne by Abd-us-semed-khan.

While these events were passing in the Penjab, the Deckan became the scene of more serious commotions. Nizam-ul-mulk, resolved not to submit to the Seids, had passed the Nerbedda, the northern boundary of the Deckan. His good fortune, to which he had entirely committed himself, now favoured him, so that after fording that river at Acberpoor, the fortress of Assir, which had cost

a siege of many years to the victorious Acber, surrendered without a blow. The officers and troops of the garrison were gained over at the instigation of their commander Talib-khan, notwithstanding he owed both his appointment and elevation to the younger of the two brothers. He delivered the keys to Nizam-ul-mulk, who paid the troops instantly two years' pay, which was due to them* and conferred many favours on other individuals. The citadel of Boorhanpoor fell in much the same manner; and to crown all, Ghows-khan, governor of the province of Berar, who bore the character of a man of courage and talents, came to join Nizam-ul-mulk, to whom he was nearly allied, and brought with him a body of veteran troops and a train of artillery. Hardly was he in camp, when Sumbha, a Mahratta officer, who was discontented with the Sahu Raja, his master, quitted his service, and with two thousand horse, which he commanded, also joined Nizam-ul-mulk. This example was followed by several zemindars of Berar, and by some Afghan chieftains, long settled in that country. The defection becoming contagious, Anwar-khan, governor of the province of Candeish, who owed every thing to Abdullah-

* It was not to be supposed that a garrison two years in arrears would defend the place against a chief who promised to pay them.

khan, one of the two brothers, came over likewise, and what was most singular is, that he was actually in the camp of Alem Ali-khan, a nephew of the two Seids, who was their deputy in the Deckan, when he adopted this step. The latter chief also, hearing of the progress of Nizam-ul-mulk, forgot all his obligations to the two brothers, and under pretence of providing for the city of Boorhanpoor, went over to their enemy. The approach of so successful a general as Nizam-ul-mulk (styled also Asof-jah), diffused such terror throughout the Deckan, that numbers of the Mahratta commanders, who at the head of their troops were every where collecting chout for their master the Raja of Sattara, withdrew from their stations, and gradually retired to Sattara. Whilst Nizam-ul-mulk was advancing southward, an adventure happened that set his character in a very advantageous point of view. A lady of high distinction, who knew nothing of the revolution, was advancing towards the north. She was the mother of Seif-ed-din Ali-khan, and sister of the two Seids. She was going to the capital to pay a visit to her son, accompanied by his wife, and several small children. On reaching Boorhanpoor, she was amazed to hear of her being in an enemy's country, and that Nizam-ul-mulk was advancing in that direction. Struck with the difficulty of

her situation, she sent a person of distinction, with an offer of money and jewels, to be allowed to prosecute her journey with honour and safety. Nizam-ul-mulk smiled on perusing the letter, and sending for a dress of honour, he conferred it on the lady's agent, whom he requested to take charge of some fruit, which he sent for the children, and calling at the same time for one of his officers, who commanded two hundred horse, bade him wait on the lady with his corps, and escort her safely to the camp of Dilaver Ali-khan, who commanded the vezir's army marching to attack him. This general, who was provided with every thing necessary, had orders to fight and destroy Nizam-ul-mulk, and Hussein Ali-khan waited only for letters from him, in order that he might set out himself for the Deckan. Rattan Chand, indeed, more than once proposed to get rid of Nizam-ul-mulk, by quietly relinquishing to him the viceroyalty of the Deckan, but such a proposal was opposed to the feelings of his master. The northern parts of the empire seemed convulsed as much as the southern, for violent and bloody commotions had now arisen in Cashmire.

There one Mula Abd-ul-neby, a Cashmirian, known by the appellation of Mohtevy-khan, a man who was celebrated for his prejudice against the Hindus, availed himself of the confusion of the times

to give vent to this feeling. He assembled a number of idle, disorderly, inconsiderate Mussulmen, and went at their head to Mir Ahmed, the lieutenant-governor, and to the kazy or chief judge of the province, to whom he proposed that henceforward Hindus of all sorts should be prohibited the use of horses, white robes, turbans, and arms; and also that they should be forbidden to go out, but at stated hours, to gardens and bathing places. The lieutenant-governor and the judge answered calmly, that whatever regulations his majesty should think proper to promulgate, by the advice of the learned divines of his court, on those matters, as a standing rule for all the Hindus of his dominions, would of course find their way into Cashmire, where it would be their business as his special servants to carry them into execution. This answer being unsatisfactory to Mohtevy-khan, he, in concert with a number of low people about him, adopted the stupid practice of attacking and ill-treating every Hindu of rank he chanced to meet in the streets. One day, as Sahib Ray, a Hindu of distinction, was giving an entertainment at a garden in the suburbs, that disturber of the peace, aided by his associates, fell unexpectedly on these innocent people, and killed and wounded many of them. Sahib Ray finding himself aimed at, fled to the palace of Mir Ahmed-khan, the lieutenant-

governor; and while he was there concealed, his house in town was plundered and sacked by Mohtevy-khan and his followers. They likewise plundered the whole Hindu quarter of the city; after which they set it on fire, killing and dispersing not only all the Hindus who came out to entreat their mercy, but all Mussulmans who attempted to intercede for them. Heated with this success, the mob marched down to the governor's palace, which they attacked at first with stones and brick-bats, and at last with arrows and musket-balls; and whoever came out was insulted and plundered, if not killed and stripped, upon the spot. The lieutenant-governor remained besieged for a whole day and night; nor would it have been possible for him to escape, had he not adopted several contrivances and exposed himself to the most imminent peril. The next day he assembled a few soldiers and some other people, mounted horses, and being supported by the commander of the forces of Shah Nevaz-khan, and by several military officers, he advanced towards the seditious insurgents; but the latter, having received advice of his design, had assembled a vast number of men of their own stamp with intention to stand their ground. On observing that the lieutenant-governor had crossed a bridge to approach them, their leader sent some of his followers to set it on fire; and following up the blow,

he also burnt all the streets in his flank and rear, whilst some others of his people getting amongst the ruins maintained incessant discharges of musketry, arrows, stones and brick-bats; while the wives and children of the Mussulman mob strove to outdo them, by tossing baskets-full of filth and every missile they could obtain from the houses into the streets. In a little time Seid Welly the lieutenant-governor's nephew, and Zulficar-beg, the cotwal's deputy, were slain, with a number of others, and many more were grievously wounded or disabled; so that Mir Ahmed-khan saw himself almost alone. Unable to go back, and afraid of advancing or stopping, he had recourse to entreaties and supplications; and after undergoing every sort of indignity and outrage, he was suffered to escape. Mohtevy-khan, now fiercer than ever, returned to the governor's house, where Sahib Ray had taken shelter with a multitude of Hindus. Having entered it by force, he seized every one of them, killed some, cut off the noses of others, and circumcised all those he thought proper otherwise to save. The latter operation was performed in so brutal a manner that some lost their members altogether. The next day he repaired, at the head of a great throng, to the great mosque; where, of his own authority, he deposed the lieutenant-governor, proclaimed himself in his stead by the style and title of Din-

dar-khan,* and ordered that until the arrival of another lieutenant-governor, the kazy should hear and determine all causes of complaint; so that for five months together, Mir Ahmed-khan remained a private man in his own capital, whilst Mohtevy-khan sat every day in state in the mosque, hearing and determining all matters concerning finance and government.

An account of these disturbances having reached court, Momin-khan was deputed to Cashmire on the part of Enaiet-ullah-khan, governor of the province, but who resided at court. This intelligence intimidated Mohtevy-khan, who by this time had repented of what he had done. In the first impulse of the moment, he took two of his small children by the hand, and went with them to Khwaja Abdullah, one of the principal holies of the city, with whom he had some acquaintance, and having heard that he intended to go out to meet the new lieutenant-governor at the head of the principal religious men and the citizens, he wished to accompany him. The holy man answered that he had no objection, but that he thought he ought in the first instance to go to the commander of the troops, Mir Shah Newaz-khan, whose forgiveness he ought to ask for what had passed. Mohtevy-khan accordingly went to the general's quarters,

* The supporter of the faith.

where the latter had, by the kwajah's advice, concealed a number of men from the Judbel, that much injured quarter of the city. On his entering the room, a few words were exchanged, when the general excused himself and went away; the concealed men rushed on Mohtevy-khan from their retreat and seized him; they first ripped open before his face the bellies of his two children, and then falling upon him, put him to death with all the tortures which their resentment prompted. Hardly had this event taken place, when the followers of Mohtevy-khan resolved to revenge his death, and running to the Judbel, they commenced killing, wounding, beating, and mangling the inhabitants, and eventually set fire to their houses. About three thousand men were hacked to pieces by these wretches. These proved to be mostly Mogul merchants, and other strangers who resided in Cashmire for the purpose of trade. A vast number of women and children were likewise seized on, and carried away. Property to the amount of several lacs was plundered or utterly spoiled; nor is there any describing the usage to which those defenceless people were subjected by those miscreants. Having finished what they called the first campaign of their religious war, they proceeded to the second, that is, they marched in a body to the house of the kazy and the general

Shah Newaz-khan. The latter found means to remain concealed; the kazy changed his dress and slunk away, and the mob, incensed at his escape, tore up his house from the very foundation, and scattering the materials about, they left not a brick on the spot. It was some days after this occurrence that Momin-khan, the new lieutenant-governor, arrived. His first care was to send Mir Ahmed-khan to a place of safety; his second, to re-establish order and subordination, a difficult task in a country notorious for the turbulent disposition of its inhabitants, a wicked race of men, among whom a man in power must contrive to rule as much by conciliation and concession as by rigour.

Whilst the northern part of the empire was recovering from this state of convulsion, the southern states had become the theatre of a very dangerous war, that struck at the very existence of the two Seids. We left Dilaver Ali-khan in full march for Boorhanpoor. Nizam-ul-mulk, informed of his motions, sent against him one of his generals, with his best troops. He was soon joined by Ghows-khan's cavalry with a train of artillery, the whole under command of his trusty friend, Enaiet-khan, while himself, mounting his elephant, came out of the city with his kinsman Ghows-khan, and with the rest of his army he encamped in the neigh-

bourhood, so as to be at hand. As soon as the enemy was discovered, Enaiet-khan drew up his army, and pursuing Nizam-ul-mulk's instructions, he placed the greatest part of his light and heavy artillery in a bushy spot of ground, where it remained loaded with grape-shot. It was along the sides of a brook, whose shady banks were well calculated for concealing it. The artillery was supported by a numerous body of infantry, whose valour had been tried, and whom Nizam-ul-mulk knew to be capable of preserving their presence of mind in a moment of danger. On the other hand, Dilaver Ali-khan, with that fiery courage peculiar to him, and that bluntness of intellect proverbial among the men of Barha, advanced, accompanied by Dost Mahomed-khan, an Afghan commander. He ranged his army in the following manner. He placed himself at the head of eleven thousand horse; and the two Hindu princes, Bhim-sing and Gaj-sing, followed with a compact body of Rajputs. In rear of these was his artillery, and behind all his war-elephants. It was in this order of battle he advanced in a frantic manner against the enemy, who waited steadily for him. Enaiet-khan, on the contrary, merely watched the motions of the enemy. The battle commenced by mutual discharges of musketry and rockets, when Dilaver Ali-khan, inflamed by the sight of his foes, ad-

vanced farther and farther on the retiring enemy, without suspecting an ambuscade, until he found himself involved in very unequal ground, which obliged his troops to break their ranks. Unmindful of this disorder, he pushed on till he reached the spot which concealed the enemy. Here he was opposed by a steady body of men, who taking aim leisurely, discharged a volley of musketry, cannon, and rockets, which brought down almost the whole of the leading columns. Those behind, terrified by the terrible execution, availed themselves of the smoke which now covered the plain to retreat; in so much that Dilaver Ali-khan was almost alone, with no one about his person but the two rajas, and about four or five hundred men. The ground was too uneven for either a horse or elephant to move with ease, and the greatest part of the cavalry with the Rajputs were lying dead or wounded on the field of battle, whilst the rest were flying in all directions. In this situation, Dost Mahomed-khan, that Afghan so renowned for his courage and great character, thought proper likewise to retire; the sense of honour having been superseded in him by a sense of fear: for fortune appeared now to have turned her back upon the two brothers, and nothing connected with them seemed to terminate favourably. Dilaver Ali-khan, in despair, still pushed on with the two rajas

and his few remaining brave troops. These being shot at like so many targets, were all slain to a man. This victory, which had almost destroyed the enemy's army, cost Nizam-ul-mulk hardly any loss, and it is universally admitted that he did not lose a single officer of rank. The enemy flying in every direction, a shout of victory arose, and Dilaver Ali-khan's military chest, baggage, artillery and equipage, with every thing that could escape a general pillage, was taken possession of for Nizam-ul-mulk's use. This chieftain now returned in triumph to Boorhanpoor, where he spent his time in conciliating the inhabitants, and in rewarding his soldiers with elephants, costly dresses of honour, rich arms, and other favours; whilst he took care to relieve the wounded by supplying them with money and medicines.

The report of this victory having reached Agra, gave a secret but sincere satisfaction to the emperor, as well as to Mahomed Amin-khan, and to all those who professed an attachment to that prince, but it filled the two brothers with fear and anxiety. They now held consultations daily. Sometimes they proposed to march against Nizam-ul-mulk together; at others they thought it would be better to carry the emperor to the capital (Dehli), where he should be left under the care of the elder brother, whilst Hussein Ali-khan, the younger,

should march against the dangerous rival that had risen in the Deckan. At one time they intended to carry the emperor into the middle of the theatre of war, so as to make him partake of their own danger; and at another, they thought it more decent, first of all to send for Hussein Ali-khan's wife and children, and then only to march against Nizam-ul-mulk. Another object of their apprehension was Mahomed Amin-khan, who gave them very great umbrage, in so much that there was a public report one day current that he had been put to death by the Seids, or at least, arrested; and on another, that a reconciliation had taken place, and that all animosity between them was buried in oblivion. It is said that the younger brother voted for his being put to death, but that the elder, regardful of the oaths and promises which had passed between him and the Turany chief, objected, declaring that such a step would not only be ungenerous and dishonourable, but even impolitic. The dispute on this point grew warm, and the elder brother was heard to say, "My life is a pledge for his; if you are bent on killing him, then kill me also, or let me kill myself." It was not till after such debates that his life was spared, and indeed, as he was doomed to slay Hussein Ali-khan himself, how could it occur that he should be killed by him?

The mighty events with which the womb of time was pregnant, seemed to have been foretold by the convulsions which the elements underwent in these days. On the twenty-second of the blessed month of Ramazan, in the year 1133, as the people were assembled at the mosque at a little past twelve, to say the noon-tide prayers, on a sudden the whole building was shaken by a violent earthquake, and bricks fell from the cupola to the great terror of the congregation, who thought it presaged some mighty and unusual event. Many of the houses in Shah Jehanabad, and in old Dehli, fell down, or were shaken to the foundation. Numbers of inhabitants were crushed to death under the ruins, and others were maimed. The rumbling noise under ground was so frightful and so repeated, that it conveyed dismay and consternation into every heart. There were on that day no fewer than nine successive shocks, which overturned most of the good houses in the city. The earth continued shaking at intervals for forty days and forty nights together, producing every day some new damage. Strange noises, voices, and groans were occasionally heard from under ground, and the affrighted inhabitants were in such dismay, that no man in his senses had the hardihood to sleep in a place shut up, or under a roof. After these forty days of continual shaking, the

22 Ramazan, A.H. 1133. 11 July, A.D. 1721.

earthquake seemed to have subsided indeed, but not without undergoing, now and then, some slighter commotions during the four or five months
1 Zilcad, A.H. 1133. 8 August, A.D. 1721. that followed. On the first of Zilkad, it was determined in council, that the Emperor's camp-equipage, with that of the vezir's, should quit the environs of Acber-abad, in order to march to the capital, and that the younger brother, Hussein Ali-khan, should, with a number of noblemen accustomed tò a camp life, set out at the head of a numerous army for the Deckan.

Whilst the preparations for such a campaign were making, the tale-bearers were so busy, and the suspicions entertained of all the Turanies were so prevalent, that Mahomed Amin-khan's life and death came again to be a subject of debate. Fresh disputes arose between the brothers regarding his fate, and the differences of opinion having transpired abroad, became a topic of general conversation throughout the city. Matters became so critical, that he expected every moment an attack upon his person, and he used to sleep in armour, and to be surrounded day and night by a body of Turany soldiers devoted to his person. At last, and whilst extremities of the most fatal kind were expected, both parties came to an accommodation; mutual promises and solemn oaths were interchanged with a sincerity apparently quite remote from dis-

guise and treachery. How far all these protestations were really sincere on the part of one of the parties, we shall soon have occasion to see; meanwhile we shall resume our narrative of the projected campaign in the Deckan. As the vanquished army had been almost destroyed, the very few that escaped from that slaughter, but which did not amount to more than two or three thousand men, made the best of their way to Aalem Ali-khan's army in a most wretched condition, whilst Nizam-ul-mulk employed his time in improving his artillery and camp-equipage, in providing ammunition, and in distributing medicines to his wounded, as well as in quieting the minds of the citizens, and in recruiting his troops, whose hearts he endeavoured to gain by every means in his power. His main object, though conducted in secret, was how to debauch and entice away Aalem Ali-khan's soldiers and officers; the more so, as while he was busy in gaining the enemy's soldiers, he was occasionally losing some of his own. Anwer-khan, that ungrateful chief, who had so far forgotten all the obligations he owed to the Seid brothers, as to go over to Nizam-ul-mulk, now turned again to the opposite party, as if one treason could not suffice. He wrote to Aalem Ali-khan, that Nizam-ul-mulk was not grown so powerful but that he might be crushed by a

timely and rapid march. He represented him as spending his time in making up medicines, and in raising contributions on the people; a state of inaction, he observed, which afforded a precious opportunity, that a man of genius ought not to let slip. This letter having been intercepted, served only to render the writer despicable, and to bring on him so much the sooner the punishment he merited.

Aalem Ali-khan had no need of excitement; he
Ramazan, A.H. 1133. June, A.D. 1721. set out in the beginning of Ramazan with an army of twenty-five thousand horse, amongst which were ten or twelve thousand Mahrattas of the Raja of Sattara under the command of Kandu Behary and Sankrajy Malhar. He was likewise accompanied by some commanders of character, who remembering how they had shed their blood more than once under Hussein Ali-khan's command, were attached to his cause and devoted to his person. Several other officers and persons of distinction were also in his army, some of whom followed him out of sincere zeal, and others from motives of interest. With these troops Aalem Ali-khan thought himself a match for the enemy, and having with some difficulty carried his army through the pass of Feridapoor, which lies midway betwixt Candeish and Aurengabad, he encamped in the neighbourhood of the latter city, where his

Mahratta horse, according to their wonted custom, spread over the plain and plundered all the villages. These ravages induced Nizam-ul-mulk to send his family and heavy baggage within the fortress of Assir, and then take the field. But the river Purna, which flows at about seventeen coss from Boorhanpoor, being then swollen by the rains, was likely to occasion much delay. From this difficulty he was extricated by Ghows-khan, who being well acquainted with the country, proposed to cross about eighteen coss higher, at a spot which he knew to have a ford. Here they arrived sooner than expected by bye-ways, which were pointed out by the zemindars of the country, and Nizam-ul-mulk, having forded the river, was already in full march towards the enemy in his return from Assir, before the latter knew of his approach. At last, when he received the intelligence, he marched towards his antagonist, whilst the Mahratta horse in his service, scouring the country, occasioned a dearth in Nizam-ul-mulk's camp during the heavy rains which were now falling, and had spoiled the roads, so that they harassed him on all sides. On this occasion Ghows-khan was of great service. At the head of some thousands of Mahratta horse that served in Nizam-ul-mulk's army, he cut his way through the other free-booters. That general now advanced

to the south through a series of perpetual skirmishing, his intention being to avoid a general action until he found a field of battle suited to his purpose. Having reached at last the town of Balapoor, he prepared for action so soon as the two armies got within sight of each other, and Aalem Ali-khan prepared to attack the enemy. This was
5 Shewal, A.H. 1133. 14 July, A.D. 1721. on the fifth of Shewal. Aalem Ali-khan put his first line under the command of Manuwar-khan, and Galib Ali-khan Deckany, and supported their right by several corps commanded by Amir-khan, brother of Khan Aalem, by Amir-khan, cousin of the late Daud-khan Peny, and by Shamshir-khan, Ashref-khan, and Fidwy-khan. His left was composed of the several corps commanded by Refat-khan, and by some other officers of character, to whom he attached all the Mahratta cavalry, with strict injunctions not to allow them to mix in the ranks. Aalem Ali-khan himself took post in the centre, where he shared his elephant with Ghias-khan. His artillery marched in front, surrounded by ten or twelve thousand Carnatic musketeers, supported by a number of war-elephants, that looked like so many mountains cased in iron. The general having reviewed his troops, seemed satisfied in his mind, and advanced with a cheerful countenance, pleased to think that he was going into an engagement likely to prove prosperous.

But he was lately arrived in those parts, unacquainted with the nature of the country, and totally unexperienced in war: for although he was aware that Dilaver Ali-khan had lost both his life and army by giving way to an impetuosity which had carried him headlong into an ambuscade, which, with a little more precaution, he might have avoided, nevertheless Aalem Ali-khan fell himself into a similar snare, where after exhibiting prodigies of valour, the sweet flower of his life was cropped in the very season of youth. The truth is, that he was under the impulse of fate.

"By no scheme nor contrivance is destiny to be evaded,
"Be it a hoary sage or an unexperienced youth."

On the morning of the sixth of the month, Aalem Ali-khan, surrounded by thirty or forty commanders, all mounted on elephants, marched against the enemy with a blind security, which can neither be concealed nor dissembled in the page of history. 6 Shewal, A.H. 1133. 15 July, A.D. 1721.

Nizam-ul-mulk on his side gave the command of his first line to the brave Merhamet-khan, and in order to make trial of his son, Ghazi-ed-din-khan's fortune, he placed him under that renowned officer. Abd-ur-rahim-khan, Raiet-khan, Saad-ed-din-khan, Darab-khan, Kamyab-khan, and Enaiet-khan, all at the head of their troops, were distributed on his right and left wings, together with

the corps commanded by Kadir-dad-khan, Akh-tisas-khan, Dilir-khan, and Anver-khan. To those troops he added all the Rajputs commanded by their rajas, and brought by some commanders discontented with the two brothers, but desirous of distinction. Nizam-ul-mulk himself took post in the centre with Ghows-khan by his side. As to the troops brought by the zemindars, as well as some thousands of Mahratta cavalry, he thought it better to leave them in his rear under Sambah, their general, with orders to secure his camp against the enemy's Mahrattas. Nizam-ul-mulk had a numerous artillery, which had been vastly augmented by what he drew from the fortresses of Assir and Boorhanpoor, but especially by those guns which he had acquired in his late victory. This he placed in his front in full view of the enemy; but as soon as it became dark, he sent great part of his guns to the left and right, where they were concealed by a copse from the enemy's sight, and they were managed with skill by officers of tried valour and ability. The guns were loaded with grape, and there were intermixed with them swivels, wall-pieces, and rockets. This arrangement was hardly complete, when Alem Ali-khan's army was seen in motion; and the action was commenced by the advance consisting of ten or twelve thousand horse, which under the

command of Manuwar-khan, charged the Deckan artillery. Upon the first discharge Manuwar-khan was slain, together with some of the bravest of his men. At sight of this, the first line of Nizam-ul-mulk, principally composed of Mogols, attacked the enemy's line, which it threw into confusion. This being reported to Aalem Ali-khan, he moved a number of choice troops in haste to repair the disorder in his centre. Here the battle raged with fury. Aalem Ali-khan was the foremost in every attack, overthrowing the enemy's troops, confounding their ranks, and making them lose ground. Flushed with this success, he pushed on with ardour, but without caution; the Deckan line fell back in good order, Aalem Ali-khan pursued, and both parties were drawing nearer and nearer to that fatal spot where the cannons were concealed. The Deckan artillery was under the management of a body of tried men, personally inimical to the two Seids. At length it opened its fire, and afforded a specimen of the day of judgment. The sun's light was darkened, and the day was turned into night. When the smoke cleared up, Ghalib-khan, Shemshir-khan, Ashref-khan, Khwaja Rahmet-khan, Muntehy-khan, and Mahomedy-beg, with a vast number of the bravest commanders and soldiers were found among the slain, weltering in their blood. The best and

bravest part of the cavalry was destroyed or disabled. Still this did not dismay Aalem Ali-khan, who, although wounded, made a brave stand, and rallied round his person a number of veteran soldiers, all ready to spill their blood for his sake. With these he continued to advance, when his progress was stopped by Akhtisas-khan and by Enaiet-khan, as well as by numbers of others, who could not help admiring the valour of that young hero. Here commenced a new, a long and bloody contest, which ended by Akhtisas-khan's engaging Aalem Ali-khan hand to hand, when the latter lost his right arm in the combat. This wound having disabled him, he was over-powered and slain on the spot, together with nineteen other commanders of note; and the greatest part of that brave body that had adhered to him. The young Seid cheerfully, and with a face glowing with honour, resigned his soul, which fled to join his holy and valiant ancestors. Sankrajy Mulhar, the Mahratta commander, who followed Aalem Ali-khan, with a number of the bravest of his nation, was wounded, and taken prisoner with some of his best troops.

Whilst this scene of slaughter was acting, Omer-khan, brother of the late Daud-khan Peny, and Amir-khan, brother of Khan Aalem, two commanders, who had treacherously abandoned Aalem

Ali-khan, availing themselves of the general confusion, seized on three or four elephants and on three or four lacs of rupees, quitted the field of battle, and to their eternal disgrace, wheeling round with a number of troops, as treacherous as themselves, surrendered to Nizam-ul-mulk. That general ordered the enemy's artillery, military chest, camp equipage, and whatever belonged to the commanders slain in battle, to be applied to his use. In this second battle, as in the former, the Deckan troops suffered so little, that not an officer of character was slain, and few only wounded.

When intelligence of this second disaster was brought to the two brothers at Dehli, it threw them into a state of despair, especially the younger, who from his deep sensibility of reverse of fortune, was inwardly consumed by grief and impatience, and he suffered the utmost anguish when he reflected that his wife and family were yet in the Deckan. Fortunately for him, in a few days more he received intelligence that before Nizam-ul-mulk's approach to Aurengabad, the governor of Dowletabad, although he had been ill-used by the two Seids, and was dissatisfied with their proceedings, had the generosity to receive that forlorn family, with all their dependants and effects, within that strong fortress, although he was actually

upon ill-terms with the very man to whose consort and children he was affording all the assistance, and all the conveniencies in his power. In a word, he took ample revenge of the two Seids, his enemies, by conferring upon them an important benefit at a most critical juncture.

"It is easy to return evil for evil;
"But if thou be a man, return good for evil."*

Hussein Ali-khan, on hearing such consoling news, recovered his wonted firmness, and became easy in mind, although he heard at the same time that Mubariz-khan, governor of Hydrabad, as well as Dilaver Ali-khan, his brother-in-law, had both quitted his party and gone over to Nizam-ul-mulk, to whom they carried a body of seven or eight thousand horse.

The news from the Deckan becoming every day more alarming, the two brothers determined that Abdullah-khan should march to the capital, in order to retain it in quietness; and that Hussein Ali-khan should march to the Deckan at the head of a numerous army accompanied by the emperor. This resolution once taken, the viceroy turned his whole

* These sentiments do the author great credit; they are in the true spirit of Christianity, which teaches us to do good even to our enemies. The delicacy and the chivalrous attention paid to females in India, among the upper classes, is little known or appreciated by us. It surpasses, in reality, the tales of romance in the days of chivalry in Europe.

attention towards making additions to his army and to his artillery. With that view he dispatched Seid Mahomed-khan with money and letters to the brave inhabitants of Barha, and to the Afghans who lived beyond them, whose bravest commanders he invited into his service, and thus in a little time he saw himself at the head of fifty thousand horse. Besides these were the imperial guards, and a number of rajas with their Rajputs. He was also followed by many other persons of distinction, who went as volunteers, desirous to signalize themselves under such a commander. His train of artillery, composed of such large cannon apparently intended for shaking the earth to its foundation, was protected by a numerous body of musketeers, formed by himself. Having reviewed all this army about the end of Shewal, Hussein Ali-khan sent his equipage on the high road to the Deckan, and on the same day he advanced with the emperor two coss from Acberabad. But as his last hour was at hand, he became guilty of several improper proceedings, which can only be referred to the imperative impulse of fate. He took from Seid-khan Jehan the office of commandant of artillery, and gave it to Heider Kuly-khan, an office of the utmost importance, as it always involved the protection of the emperor's household, family, and even person. Several days more having

Shewal, A.H. 1133. August, A.D. 1721.

been spent in that encampment, it was the ninth of the month of Zilcad, when the king quitting Acberabad advanced three coss on the road to Deckan. He was attended by the vezir Abdullah-khan, who waited only for a fit opportunity to take his leave, and to commence his journey towards the capital. The anniversary of the emperor's coronation was at hand, and occurred on the fifteenth. He wished to assist at the ceremonies usual on that occasion before he set out. Hussein Ali-khan objected to this delay, and induced the emperor to dismiss the vezir earlier, after which the emperor himself decamped, and on the fourteenth he marched two full stages more to Fatehpoor, where he spent three or four days in rejoicings for the anniversary. These being over, he thought only of marching to the Deckan, but his brother Abdullah-khan remained on the spot two or three days longer, with Hamid-khan, the uncle of Nizam-ul-mulk, and some other nobles, such as Ghazi-ed-din-khan, Ghalib-khan, and others. After this stay, the reason for which no one could guess, he set out for the capital, and on the road was met by Mahomed-khan Bangash, who not satisfied with several lacs of rupees which he had received from Hussein Ali-khan, under promise of following him with a corps of soldiers of his own nation, protested he was in want of money, and

9 Zilcad, A.H. 1133. 18 August, A.D. 1721.

15 Zilcad, A.H. 1133. 24 August, A.D. 1721.

obtained fifty thousand rupees more from the vezir. The latter continued his march to the capital, whilst his brother was intent on marching to the south.

The vezir continued his route, and was at the distance of two short journies from the capital, when he received intelligence that his elder brother had been assassinated, together with his younger brother Nur-ed-din Ali-khan, and his nephew Gheiret-khan. This news was contained in a short note brought by a dromedary courier, which Rattan Chand had sent off on the occasion. The following is the detail of this event.

As the emperor was a mere pageant in his own dominions, his situation was pitied by some nobles of the old court of Aurengzib, such as Nizam-ul-mulk, Mahomed Amin-khan, and others, who beheld with indignation the vast power of the two brothers, and resolved to deliver him from a thraldom so degrading to the imperial family and to themselves.

Mahomed Amin-khan, though narrowly watched, found means to say a few words in Turkish to the king, and obtained his consent to the subsequent measures, which having been imparted to Nizam-ul-mulk, determined him to assert his own independance, and to wrest the Deckan from the two brothers. It is to these intrigues at court, and to

that general's exertions in the field, that Dilaver Ali-khan and Aalem Ali-khan owed their misfortunes, though after all, it must not be denied that the whole happened by the immediate intervention of an unavoidable destiny. Mahomed Amin-khan, who saw that the viceroy was bent on the destruction of Nizam-ul-mulk, and who suspected that the latter was not a match for his adversary, concluded that the ruin of Nizam-ul-mulk would be followed by his own downfall, and that of all his countrymen, the Turanies. Fully impressed with these notions, he watched day and night with his confederates for a favourable opportunity to destroy Hussein Ali-khan. But it must not be believed that they would have raised their views so high, had they not been assured of support from a powerful party which was gaining ground every day. The first person they thought of gaining over was Seid Mahomed Amin, better known by the name of Saadet-khan, an Irany, born at Nishapoor in Khorassan. This chief's first appearance was as commandant of that corps of infantry guards called Vala-shahies, raised in Ferokh Siar's time. Some time after, he was promoted to the office of Fojdary of Hindown Biana, one of the principal and most troublesome districts of the province of Acberabad. It was here he first gave proof of his valour and abilities. With a few

troops which he obtained from the Vezir Abdullah-khan, and a few more of his own countrymen, he contrived to bring that province under control; and this service having procured him an augmentation of five hundred horse to his military grade, he henceforward became known at court, where he bore the character of a resolute and an able commander. Mahomed Amin-khan finding him calculated for his purpose, insinuated himself into his confidence, and he became henceforward his constant companion and the depository of his secrets. This connexion was greatly facilitated by their both being Moguls,* and they cast their eyes upon a third Mogul, a man altogether fit for that purpose. This person was Mir Heider-khan, a Chaghatay Calmuc of Cashgar, whose family enjoyed for many years the office of sword-bearer to the prince of his own country. Mir Heider bore also the title of Mir Miran. He was a man of intrepid character, whom no danger could appal; and he united himself with Mahomed Amin-khan, not only out of ambition, but out of a religious zeal, he being as zealous a Sunny as the viceroy was a zealous Shiah, and he took upon himself the task of despatching Seid Hussein Ali-khan with his own hand. These three resolute men being thus con-

* By the word Mogul here the author means a foreigner, either from Persia, Cabul, or Khwarazm.

nected, determined to cast lots who should give the first blow, and having for this purpose applied to the Koran, the task devolved on Mir Heider, a wretch unworthy of living either in this world or the next. This man, without suspecting how near he was to his own end, framed a petition full of complaints against Mahomed Amin-khan, and in order to present it, he took for his associate a countryman of his own, whom he knew to be as infamous as himself. It was on Tuesday, the sixth of Zilhaj, in the year 1133 of the Hegira, the army was encamped fifty coss south of Acberabad, and the emperor was just alighting to enter his tent. At this moment Mahomed Amin-khan whispered to him in Turkish to be ready and upon his guard, after which he made his bow, and retired to the quarters of Heider Kuly-khan, one of the principal conspirators. As he was retiring, the viceroy advanced, and having accompanied the emperor as far as the first entrance of the lady's enclosure, he withdrew, and took the road to his own tent, which being in the vanguard, could not be less than one coss distant. On approaching the outlet of the royal enclosure, Mir Heider, who availed himself of a rising ground to shew himself, made his bow, and raised his petition as high as he could; the attendants forbade his approaching nearer, but fate, unavoidable fate, put it into the viceroy's mind to

6 Zilhaj, A.H. 1133. 14 September, A.D. 1721.

beckon to him, and to command his people to let him draw close. Mir Heider having augured well of this extraordinary condescension, approached, presented his petition, and as the viceroy's palky was going on, he ran alongside, holding, as is usual on those occasions, by the side of that conveyance with one hand, whilst with the other he explained the objects of his complaint. The moment he saw the viceroy's attention engaged in reading the petition, he drew his dagger, and gave that valorous and innocent Seid such a violent stab, as threw him on the opposite side of the palky, where he expired without a groan, and assumed the crown of martyrdom. In the act of falling, he gave the murderer a violent kick in the breast, which overset the palky, but the body fell motionless on the ground. Nur-ullah-khan, a relation of the viceroy's, was likewise marching on foot and holding the palky, and on seeing the blow, he drew his sabre and felled the assassin to the ground. He was himself cut down by the Mogul attending Mir Heider. The latter was himself collared and killed by Mir Mushref, who although grievously wounded in the scuffle, found means to escape alive. From that moment a promiscuous slaughter ensued round the palky. Numbers of Moguls who were in the plot, arriving one after another, cleared the ground, and both the heads of Hussein Ali-

khan and Nur-ullah-khan being severed from their bodies, were carried to the emperor's quarters. This sight made so deep an impression on the eunuch Macbul, superintendant of the viceroy's seraglio, that assuming courage out of his very despair, he drew his sabre, attacked the Moguls vigorously, and received several wounds, of which he died three or four days after. Whilst so much noble blood was streaming round Hussein Ali-khan's body, his water-bearer and head-scavenger, taking to their sabres and bucklers, ran with all their might to the imperial tents, and throwing themselves headlong amongst the body-guard, cut their way as far as the Tesbih-khana* apartment, where they were hewn in pieces, or, as some others say, killed by Saadat-khan, who barred the entrance with his body.† A troop of resolute men, attached to Mohcam-sing, divan of the murdered viceroy, having at the commencement of tumult ran with drawn sabres as far as the royal tents, penetrated through as far as the main tent of audience, and fought valiantly. Most of them were wounded, but they cut their way back on hearing that their

* The chapel-tent.

† The extraordinary attachment and personal devotion of Indian domestics to their masters is a remarkable feature in their character. Some strong instances of this nature have occurred even towards Europeans, but among themselves the feeling is common, and wonderfully powerful.

master could not recover. As for Hussein Ali-khan's infantry, which had already commenced firing, they were soon silenced, or dispersed of themselves, on hearing that all was over.

The news of Hussein Ali-khan's death was directly communicated to Gheiret-khan, his nephew, who was then in camp. That gallant young soldier, without collecting his troops, or bringing up his artillery, or even giving himself time to assemble his friends about his person, quitted the table where he was taking his meal, and having wiped his mouth and hands, mounted his elephant, and without uttering a word, advanced to oppose the murderers of his uncle. With about three thousand horse and foot that joined him troop by troop on the way, he rushed towards the royal tent with a fury which can be compared only to the rapidity of lightning, or to the fury of a storm. Whilst advancing, Saadet-khan and Mahomed Amin-khan, with Heider Kuly-khan, sensible of the emperor's danger, threw themselves headlong amongst a number of men that had penetrated as far as the ladies' apartments, and were thronging around, and barring the very entrance. Having cleared the passage by sheer bodily exertions, they called on the emperor to shew himself; but he was actually restrained by his mother, and entangled amongst a crowd of women, who had

seized his pĕrson. Saadet-khan, sensible of the importance of his presence, and how little the rules of etiquette deserved his attention at such a moment, had the boldness to rush beyond the door, and having entreated the emperor to shew himself at the head of a number of faithful servants, ready tŏ shed their blood in his cause, seized his hand, and by main strength disengaged him from the women. He brought him out to Mahomed Amin-khan, who mounted him upon his elephant, and took his post in the seat behind. It was customary for the imperial guards, and for some other corps, to assemble daily at the entrance of the royal enclosure. They now assembled there earlier than usual, whilst some troops of Moguls hastened towards the same spot. Saadet-khan, and others, joined Mahomed Amin-khan, by detached bands, so that the king at once appeared surrounded by a respectable body of men. Still his danger had been great but for Heider Kuly-khan, who sensible that some such emergency was at hand, had the foresight to exercise the artillery daily, having previously secured the men by his liberality; insomuch, that on the first report of the tumult, they marched up to head-quarters; and whilst Gheiret-khan was advancing on one side with a confused disorderly body of men, Heider Kuly-khan was marching on the

other with a steady pace, and a numerous troop marshalled in order, with which he surrounded the emperor's person, forming without the inner circle of troops, another circle of field-pieces and war-elephants. This being done, he went up to a body of his own horse, and advanced to the charge, himself at their head. A battle, terrible as the day of judgment, now commenced. Gheiret-khan, who had come with all the fury of a hungry lion or a famished tiger, was boiling with impatience; his eagerness did not give him time to take breath, little apprehensive that all his haste would only serve to precipitate him into the abyss of eternity. He had resolved to sacrifice his own life if he could but revenge his uncle's murder, and close either with the emperor, Mahomed Amin-khan, or Heider Kuly-khan, in single combat. The cannon and musketry of the latter general, long accustomed to good practice, fired steadily, and their balls rained as thick as a storm of hail. The two adverse parties engaged with so much fury, that nothing was heard but the groans of the dying, and the cries of "have at you." By this time the nobles of the imperial party were flocking from all parts round the royal person, and Gheiret-khan's troops were likewise hastening to their chief's assistance, so that the two parties which had now assumed the consistence of armies, were

already come to short weapons, and engaging hand to hand. Gheiret-khan had advanced so near to Heider Kuly-khan, that he shot an arrow at him, which sunk with so much violence in the latter's bow, that it required considerable force afterwards to extract it. This was no sooner perceived by Saadet-khan and Kamer-ed-din-khan, than they flew to his assistance, and performed exploits worthy of their attachment to their sovereign. He himself was employed incessantly in filling his bow, and discharging arrows on all sides. Whilst the two parties were solely intent on each other's destruction, the camp-followers, availing themselves of the confusion, fell on Hussein Ali-khan's quarters, set them on fire, as well as all the tents of his body of Seids; and whilst the servants were busy in putting out the fire, they plundered out of the viceroy's tents money and jewels to the amount of several crores of rupees. At this moment Khan Dowran arrived. Gheiret-khan, enfeebled already by two wounds, was shot dead with a musket-ball by an Abyssinian, who sat in the seat behind Heider Kuly-khan. The young Seid, without uttering a groan, went to wait upon his glorious ancestor, the divine Ali, the prince of the pious, on whom be grace and mercy for ever! Meanwhile the viceroy's property had been plundered leisurely, and there

remained but little of it to be secured for the emperor's use.

The victory being now decided, Heider Kuly-khan sent word to Mohcam Sing, the divan of Hussein Ali-khan, advising him to pay his homage to the king, as that prince had ordered his life and property to be spared. He came, and on his making his bow, the emperor pardoned his past conduct, and augmented his military grade to six thousand horse. Word was also sent to Rattan Chand, but he knowing how unpopular he was, made haste to despatch a dromedary courier to Abdullah-khan, as we have already said, and getting into his palky, hastened to his quarters. On the road he was stopped by some Moguls, as well as by crowds of the mob, who long incensed at his violent oppression, flew at him, and having torn him from the palky, they gave him a severe beating, and dragged him stark naked to Mahomed Amin-khan's quarters, who immediately ordered him some clothes, but sent him into confinement with a chain attached to his feet. Ray Narotum Dass, the agent of Abdullah-khan, was more lucky; observing how matters went, he shaved his beard and whiskers, changed his apparel, and whilst his baggage was pillaged, he went like a thief into his own tent, took some jewels, and retired to the quarters of some trusty friends, who

found means to conceal him, and he at last made his escape to his master, Abdullah-khan. Mir Ali-khan did not meet with such good fortune. He was a servant long attached to Hussein Ali-khan. His master set so much value upon his services, that he had raised him to offices both lucrative and honourable, and he in acknowledgment for these favours, proved himself a companion worthy of Gheiret-khan. He was now plundered as well as others, and sent into confinement, although his person had been respected for three days by the populace, that had been so merciless to others. To Mir Mushref, who had cut so conspicuous a figure when Hussein Ali-khan was murdered, offices, and even money, were now offered, but he declined both, and lived for a long while retired and in obscurity, when the emperor, of his own accord, sent for him and gave him employment.

The bodies of Hussein Ali-khan, Nur-ed-din Ali-khan, and Gheiret-khan, were wrapped up in cloth of gold by Mahomed Amin-khan's order, and decently put into coffins, he intending by this measure to avoid the reproaches of the public. He even went to the place where they lay in state, made his devotions at their feet, performed the usual rites, and said aloud, "Here lie three valorous lions asleep." After this, he ordered the

three coffins to be taken up and carried to the family vault at Ajmir, where lay buried the great Abdullah-khan, commonly called Mia-khan, the founder of that family. It is probable that the motive for covering them with gold cloth and other costly ornaments, was to excite the cupidity of banditti, who by plundering the whole and insulting the bodies, might render the procession ridiculous; but if such was his intention he was disappointed. Wherever the coffins were descried from afar, people of all ranks flocked to them, and, out of respect, accompanied them a great way, and it was with such an escort they arrived at Ajmir, where they were deposited under the family monument.

Praise be to God Almighty, that the qualities of wisdom and justice shone forth conspicuously in Hussein Ali-khan's character. It appears from authentic memoirs and unquestionable records, that what befel Ferokh Siar, and some others of his enemies, was the result of their own machinations, and had never taken place but in the vezir's own defence. Indeed, where is the man that would not strive for the preservation of his life and honour. It is a thing unheard of to this day, that any man of the world has ever parted with either whilst he had power to defend them. It may even be said that few men have been found so free from

vice as to have devoted their lives and honour even in the cause of glorifying God and his prophet, although a disregard of life is in such a mighty cause a divine obligation, and never fails to produce in the other world the highest degree of happiness and glory. Whereas similar resolution, exerted in the cause of our own species, is far from producing any such return. Indeed, how shall we believe it can, since we find the many important services rendered to Ferokh Siar by these two illustrious brothers, at the expense of so much blood and property, met with no better reward than perpetual animosity, evinced in the intrigues of such vile reprobates as Amir Jumlah and Etikad-khan, the most contemptible and profligate wretches that ever disgraced a court. The victor's lenity was never more conspicuous than in his present condescension towards the adherents of the Seids. Assed-ullah-khan, better known by the name of Nawab-awleat, a son of the aunt of Hussein Ali-khan, having lost all his effects in this general confusion, as well as his credit and influence, obtained leave to quit the court, and to go on pilgrimage to the house of God at Mecca. Gholam Ali-khan, who had the merit of having been one of those persons that went to fetch the young emperor from Selimgur, and had on that account been spared both as to his honour and pro-

perty, no sooner saw himself at full liberty, than he made his escape to Abdullah-khan. Nusret-yar-khan, one of the principal Seids of Barha, although much dissatisfied with Abdullah-khan, had the generosity to march to Hussein Ali-khan's assistance at the head of his body of horse, and was already within three coss; but finding on his arrival that all was over, he applied to Khan Dowran, with whom he was on terms of friendship, for pardon. He was immediately sent for by that nobleman and presented to the emperor. On paying his respect, he was raised to the grade of five thousand horse, with an addition of two thousand to his corps. This favour seemed only the prelude to greater promotion. Mahomed Amin-khan, who enjoyed already the rank of eight thousand horse, was complimented with the actual command of so many troopers having two horses* each; he was also presented with a purse of two crores and a half of dams, and raised to the dignity of prime minister, under the title and style of Vezir-el-memalik, Zafer-jung. The office of commander-in-chief was conferred on Khan Dowran, together with the grade of eight thousand horse, and the

* The Do-aspah cavalry have been frequently described; each trooper has two horses, one of which he leads, and by this means the regiment is able to make marches of extraordinary length and rapidity. In modern times this practice has altogether ceased.

title of Amir-ul-umra, that is, chief of the nobles. Kamer-ed-din-khan, son of the new vezir, was appointed second in command in the army, and had the superintendance of the royal baths, which includes the private apartments.* He was also nominated to some offices, and promoted to the command of five thousand horse with the rank of seven. Heider Kuly-khan was promoted to the same rank, with the actual command of six thousand troopers, having one and two horses each, and was ennobled with the title of Nasir-jung. Saadet-khan was raised to the grade and command of five thousand horse, and received the title of Bahadur, with the privilege of beating a nagara, or kettle-drum. Zafer-khan also shared in the royal favour. In short, none of the emperor's former or recent friends were forgotten, and every one was rewarded by offices, dignities, and employments, according to his merits or his interest at court.

Abdullah-khan had proceeded about forty coss, and was already only two short journies from the capital, when he received that note which Rattan Chand despatched on the first tumult. That mournful note which almost rendered his existence a burthen, filled his eyes with tears, and overloaded with grief his affectionate breast. He thought it unsafe to halt, but resolved to march on

* This office is like that of Lord Chamberlain in Europe.

to the capital. Some of his friends objected to this measure, and were of opinion that as the emperor had not yet been joined by the provincial troops, and had not had time to tamper with many thousands of old soldiers attached to his late brother, it would be desirable to return to Acberabad, and to attack the emperor before he should have leisure to strengthen his party. This advice did not please Abdullah-khan, who observed, " that there was no success to be expected by attacking with dispirited and diminished troops, a prince firmly seated upon the throne, and surrounded by nobles and generals closely connected together. That, for his part, he firmly believed such a contest would fail, unless he could gain over for his party a prince of Aurengzib's blood, whose person might attract the eyes of the multitude, and reconcile many nobles of the old regime, who were now living in the capital, and who by forming a court around the new prince, might afford a plea to assemble an army and artillery." Having adopted this opinion, he continued his journey to the capital. But he found matters there much altered.

As soon as the news of the revolution had spread far and near, the peasants, turning highwaymen and banditti, plundered every one of those that chanced to lag behind, and even the baggage that happened to be at some distance from the vezir's

army; and although they were more than once chastised, it did not deter them from persisting in such practices. One day a body of foot, with their officers at their head, was cut off near Abdullah-khan's quarters, and almost within his sight. Another day the plunderers surrounded a convoy that came from the capital, with a quantity of articles for Hussein Ali-khan, and plundered it entirely, stripping all those persons who composed it, at a distance of only two coss from Abdullah-khan's camp. On the other hand, all the landed estates that belonged to the two brothers, or to their adherents, were seized by the zemindars, who collected the revenues until they knew to whom they were to appertain. These, however, were inconsiderable objects. Abdullah-khan despatched Shujaat-ullah-khan and Murteza-khan, two noblemen of consequence, to the capital, with orders to bring from thence one of the princes of the house of Timur; and he wrote to his younger brother, Nizam-ed-din Ali-khan, governor of Dehli, to raise soldiers and to provide camp-equipage, and every thing requisite for taking the field instantly.

8 Zilhaj, A.H. 1133. 16 September, A.D. 1721.

The letter arrived in the evening of the eighth of Zilhaj, before any certain intelligence had reached the city; but as some rumour had already found its way thither, the governor sent a number of armed men, with the city cutwal at their head, to

take possession of Mahomed Amin-khan's palace, which was surrounded the greatest part of the night, whilst the people within shewed a resolution to defend it. In the morning, the governor, either of his own accord, or in consequence of an order from Abdullah-khan, recalled the cutwal, and desisted from a proceeding so hazardous. His attention was besides diverted to objects of greater importance. Two days after, (that is) on the tenth of Zilhij, which is always the day of corban or sacrifice, he went out of the city to make his devotions in the field, as is the custom, with a vast multitude of people; and on returning to town, he repaired directly to the tower where the princes of the imperial blood resided. He was accompanied by Abdullah-khan's two envoys, and it was with them he presented himself at the door of the apartment of the princes, the sons of Moiz-ed-din Jehandar-shah, whom he requested to come out. But so far from complying they all refused, and even one of them, Nico-siar, concealed himself. The envoys confounded at such a repulse, repaired to the apartment of Sultan Ibrahim, a young prince, the son of Refi-el-kadr, grandson of Bahadur-shah, and having prevailed upon him to accept their proffered aid, they brought him out on the 11th Zilhij, A. H. 1132, and placed him on the throne under the name and style of Abul-fet'h Zehir-ed-

10 Zilhij, A.H. 1132. 18 September, A.D. 1721.

11 Zilhij, A.H. 1132. 19 September, A.D. 1719.

din Mahomed Ibrahim. Abdullah-khan arriving two days after, went immediately to pay his homage to the new prince, from whom he obtained for Ghazi-ed-din-khan, the office of commander-in-chief, with the rank of eight thousand horse, and the title of Amir-ul-umrah. Nejm-ed-din Ali-khan was created second in command; Selabet-khan, third, and Beiram-khan, fourth. Favours and promotions were likewise conferred on their relations and friends. The minister now turned his attention towards many ancient nobles, who having been members of the court of Refi-ed-derjat, now lived in retirement, without employment, neglected and forgotten. These being sent for, were received with respect, nominated to offices and employments, and assisted with sums of money adequate to their wants, from fifty thousand to a lac of rupees each.* Some of those who had served with distinction, were appointed to the command of several new bodies of horse, which they were required to raise at the rate of eighty rupees† per month for each trooper. Hamid-khan, the uncle of Nizam-ul-mulk, but who was upon bad terms with him, was gratified with a new estate, besides that which he enjoyed already, and with a large

* £5,000 to £10,000 sterling.

† The usual rate in garrison was only fifty, and now is as low as twenty and thirty rupees.

sum of money. Several nobles attached to the late Ferokh Siar, such for instance as Etikad-khan, Shaista-khan, Sefy-khan, and Islam-khan, with many others, who lived neglected and even uncertain of their fate, were now induced to attend. They were promised honours and dignities, provided they would attach themselves to the young prince. Some of them, such as Islam-khan and Mahomed Yar-khan, and Sefy-khan, who did not like the appearance of the times, excused themselves on the plea of ill-health, and refused to accept of dignities or offices. But Etikad-khan and Seif-khan consented, and accepted money for their necessities, without being really sincere; for both these chiefs, as well as several others who had served in the guards called Valashahies, returned home after having followed Abdullah-khan for form's sake during one or two day's march. The officers of lesser note, such as those who commanded from five hundred to a thousand horse, proved more faithful in their attachment, and were subsequently preferred according to their merits. The pay of the common trooper was raised from fifty rupees a month to eighty, but as men and horses were promiscuously admitted, without giving a due preference to old soldiers, those that were best mounted and armed evinced much discontent. Nevertheless, the urgency of the times

required the levies to be continued without reference to the distinctions of old or new soldiers, and still less to that of the tribe and race, insomuch that whoever brought a horse was enlisted, without inquiry as to what nation or tribe he belonged. In this manner an army of ninety thousand cavalry was in a short time levied in the capital, at the expense of one crore of rupees bounty.

17 Zilhij, A.H. 1132. 1 October, A.D. 1721. On the seventeenth of Zilhij, that is five days after the coronation, Abdullah-khan brought the new king out of the citadel, with as much royal pomp as could be got up on so short notice, and he marched with him to the Eid-gah out of the city, where he encamped, and where he was joined by several persons of consequence, who quitted the imperial army and came to him with their troops. At the same time Gholàm Ali-khan and Nijabet Ali-khan (the latter the nephew of Abdullah-khan, and only fourteen years old) were sent back to the city in order to keep it quiet, and free from tumults; and as the news regarding Abdullah-khan now received assured him that Mahomed-shah was advancing by the Jatt country, he took the road of Kutb-ed-din's monument in order to intercept him; but on being better informed, he struck to the left and encamped at Feridpoor, whilst Mahomed-shah's route lay through Acberabad. The vezir made some stay at Feridpoor in

expectation of being joined by his younger brothers Seif-ed-din Ali-khan and Seid Mahomed-khan, as well as by some other commanders who promised to bring a body of Seids of Barha with their own troops. This short stay proved of service to Abdullah-khan, as he was joined daily by some body of regular troops, as well as by the bravest amongst the Afghans, besides several zemindars, who flocked to him from the neighbourhood at the head of their men. Vast numbers of Hussein Ali-khan's veteran soldiers, who had been prevailed upon to swear allegiance to Mahomed-shah, and to accept one month's pay, now stole away and came by hundreds and two hundreds at a time, all mounted and armed. Abdullah-khan thus strengthened, moved to Pelool, where he was joined by his two brothers, and by some other commanders, who, besides their own troops, had brought one hundred and fifty carts conveying Seids of Barha, each of whom thought himself equal to a Rustem or an Afrasiab.* These were ordered to form a guard round Abdullah-khan's elephant, a post which they had solicited, not only in hopes of preferment, but also to evince their regard for that minister, with whom, as Seids, they claimed common descent. The veterans brought

* Two heroes mentioned as famous for their heroism in the Shah-nameh.

by his two brothers amounted to at least ten thousand effective troopers; and hardly were they in camp, when they were followed by Churamon Jatt (father of Buden-sing, and grandfather of Bar Chand), a powerful zemindar of the province of Acberabad, and owner of the estates whereon Mahomed-shah was encamped. Immediately after arrived Raja Mohcam-sing, the late divan of Hussein Ali-khan, the same who had been so kindly used by Mahomed-shah. But his inclination overbalancing those new ties, he deserted that camp, and came to Abdullah-khan, bringing with him a considerable body of troops, with several veteran officers.

All these reinforcements were in addition to that numerous army brought out of the capital, and the whole occupied so immense a space that the features of the soil, trodden down by so much cavalry and infantry, disappeared and could not be recognized without difficulty. All these forces were in such high spirits, that Churamon Jatt having gone out skirmishing on the very day of his arrival, brought away three or four elephants and a large number of camels, belonging to the imperial camp, all of which he presented to Abdullah-khan, but which that general requested him to accept at his hand, as an earnest of future victory. The two adverse armies advanced so near that Mahomed-

shah encamped in the neighbourhood of Shahpoor, where that prince halted to wait for the famous Abd-us-semed-khan, governor of Multan and the Raja Jye-sing, who however did not appear, either through the badness of the roads, or for some other reason. It was now the ninth of Moharrem; but in the interval Mahomed-khan Bangash joined the emperor with three thousand horse, as did Gheiret-khan Rohilah and Bayezid-khan Mewaty, with their respective corps; and in a little time more, four thousand effective troopers arrived from Raja Jye-sing's country.

9 Moharrem, A. H. 1133. 19 October, A. D. 1721.

Meanwhile the proximity of the two armies had produced several skirmishes, in which the two parties had tried each other's strength. On one occasion, Churamon had very nearly set fire to the park of the enemy's artillery; and on another he had almost succeeded in bringing away all the cattle belonging to their train. Nevertheless, it was the tenth of Moharrem before the armies were opposed to each other, and ranged in battle. Heider Kuly-khan, commandant of the artillery, who had been very instrumental in saving it from Churamon's attack, was put at the head of the first line; Saadet-khan, with Mahomed-khan Bangash, commanded the right wing; and Khan Dowran, with Nusret-yar-khan and some other commanders of distinction, commanded the left wing,

10 Moharrem, A.H. 1133. 20 October, A.D. 1721.

in the centre of which was Azim-khan with a body of veteran troops. Mahomed Amin-khan (the vezir), with Hady-khan, Kamer-ed-din-khan, Azim-ullah-khan, Fateh-yar-khan, and some other commanders of the first rank, were in the centre of the whole line, where Mahomed-shah took his station surrounded by the troops commanded by Shir-efken-khan and Terbiet-khan, besides a numerous band of nobles of the highest rank, who fought as volunteers around the imperial person. Amir-jumlah and some other commanders, amongst whom were Raja Gopal-sing Sesodia, were ordered to cover the flanks, and Assed-ullah-khan with Seif-khan and Raja Dehraj were placed so as to serve as a reserve to protect the king's household. The war-elephants, like so many mountains cased in iron, were stationed in front of these troops, but behind the artillery, and mixed with a number of light horse that fought singly, or in detached parties.

12 Moharrem, A.H. 1133. 22 October, A.D. 1721.

Abdullah-khan on his side, who on the twelfth of Moharrem arrived at Husseinpoor, three coss short of the enemy's encampment, ranged his army in battle-array. But the troops as well as officers of Barha, on account of their pretension to kindred with him, proved exceedingly troublesome and unruly; and so much time was lost in bringing them into some order, that it became necessary

to marshal them several times. At last they were prevailed upon to remain in front of Abdullah-khan's elephant, under command of their three generals, Seif-ed-din Ali-khan, Seid Mahomed-khan, and Shahamet-khan, each of whom proved full as headstrong as any of their men.

Hamed-khan, Seif-khan, Beiram-khan, and Yekh-lass-khan Rohilah, with Omer-khan Afghan, and several other commanders, amongst whom were Shujah-khan Piloly, and Abdullah-khan, most of them chiefs of note, and all mounted on elephants, to the number of seventy, were placed with their troops on the right and left of the Pretender and Seid Abdullah-khan. Abul-mohsen-khan, Seid Ali-khan, with Hiramon, paymaster of the troops from Barha, with twenty-five thousand horse, all in Abdullah-khan's private pay, and consisting of his veteran troops, were placed before his elephant, which was already encircled by a corps of Seids of Barha, all infantry, who considered themselves rather as the countrymen and kinsmen of Abdullah-khan than as soldiers in his pay. The army being thus marshalled, passed the whole night, which was that of the thirteenth, under arms. During the night, Raja Mohcam-sing (who although divan to the late Hussein Ali-khan, had been treated with so much lenity by Mahomed Shah, taken into favour, and promoted to the grade of five thousand

13 Moharrem, A.H. 1133. 23 October, A.D. 1721,

horse, having found a favourable opportunity) came over and presented himself to Seid Abdullah-khan, to whose aid he brought a body of eight hundred horse, with Khoda-dad Mirza and Khan Mirza, two officers of distinction, at their head. At the dawn of day, as soon as the trumpets sounded, and the heralds had published three times as usual that "courage in war is safer than cowardice," the foremost on both sides saluted each other with the whistling of arrows and the whizzing of musket-balls: this was the moment which Mahomed-shah, in the centre of his army, chose for Rattan Chand's punishment. The head of that miscreant was presented to the emperor, and his body fastened to the foot of the elephant on which he sat in his royal attire. Upon this, as upon a signal, the army, which moved like the waves of a sea, or like some inundation seeking to cover a whole plain, advanced with loud shouts. The artillery swept away whole ranks, and so many mouths of flame opened their jaws at once as were enough to carry terror into the heart of the bravest, whilst the incessant showers of rockets put an end to the boasts of many of the most courageous. It is universally admitted that the artillery, directed by so able an officer as Heider Kuly-khan, who had under his orders a body of expert men accustomed to fire with steadiness, performed wonders on that day.

These efforts did not intimidate the opposite army; for thousands of brave men, animated by a spirit of attachment to their leader, threw themselves fearlessly before those engines that vomited fire and destruction ; and, although numbers were slain, the enemy's troops pressed forward and advanced with a steady step, so that the faint-hearted bombardiers of Mahomed-shah's artillery began to give ground, and at last betook themselves to flight; especially after Nejm-ed-din Ali-khan had given a turn to the day by a manœuvre judiciously conceived and as gallantly executed. With a division of twelve thousand horse and foot he had detached himself from the main body, to take possession of a grove that skirted a village, and from this post he maintained a hot and incessant fire, which made the imperialists ready to take flight. This being observed by Heider Kuly-khan and Khan Dowran, they detached Nusret-yar-khan and Sabit-khan, with some other troops, from the main body. These advanced boldly against the breast-work from which Nejm-ed-din Ali-khan was dealing out destruction. By dint of hard firing a breach was made, and the imperialists rushing on with shouts to the assault, carried the battery, thus reducing the enemies' fire to a few straggling shot from behind broken walls and fallen trees, from which they were finally driven, so that Heider

Kuly-khan remained master of this important post. In this state of affairs both parties remained on the field of battle, after a bloody though undecisive action. At sunset, Abdullah-khan ordered a small tent to be pitched for him on the spot where he was; but on recollecting his loss, he sobbed aloud, saying that no rest remained for him now in this world. He then countermanded the tent, and determed to remain in the open air.

As soon as it grew dark, Heider Kuly-khan, who commanded the imperial artillery, put it again in motion. He advanced, firing and gaining ground, until he had taken an advantageous position, from whence he maintained an incessant fire during the whole night, killing and wounding many of the enemy; so that most of those commanders who had distinguished themselves on their elephants in the day-time, now sought safety in flight; but they were intercepted in their retreat from camp by armed bodies of peasants, who stripped them as they fled. About the dawn of the day, a cannon-shot having struck the howdah on which sat Mohcam-sing, he jumped down from the elephant, and mounting his horse fled with so much precipitation that a long time elapsed before any tidings were received of him. At day-break, on the fourteenth of Moharrem 1133, it appeared that out of fifteen or sixteen thousand cavalry that had stood

14 Moharrem, A.H. 1133. 24 October, A.D. 1721.

during the night under that terrible cannonade, not one had eaten any thing for the last twenty-four hours, or even drank any water, that element being too far off, and in the possession of a body of Jatts. Such was the high sense of honour and zeal of this brave corps that not one of them quitted his post. They were mostly Seids of Barha, commanded by their own countrymen, equally jealous of their honour as faithfully attached to Abdullah-khan's person. Similar steadiness was exhibited on the opposite side. Mahomed-shah, mounted on his favourite elephant Shah-pesend,* shewed an example in his own person to all that host of officers and illustrious volunteers who surrounded his throne. He remained sitting the whole night on his elephant, as well as the whole of the preceding day. At day-break the enemy was already in motion; and Nejm-ed-din Ali-khan, at the head of a body of Seids of Barha and another body of trusty soldiers, advanced again to the charge, with the resolution of gaining the battle or perishing in the attempt. Defying the thunder of that destructive artillery that had already done so much havock, he made a furious attack in order to recover the post which had been lost in the previous day. In this effort he was opposed by Heider Kuly-khan

* The royal favourite. There is a beautiful and exquisite mango so called in Candeish.

and Khan Dowran, who, sensible of the importance of example in such cases, came out of the redoubt to encounter the enemy. They were supported by brave troops and valiant commanders: amongst the latter was Nusret-yar-khan, a Seid of Barha, who although priding himself on his being related both to Nejm-ed-din Ali-khan and Abdullah-khan, wished to signalize himself against them. The contest again became furious; the commanders on both sides exerted themselves heroically, emulous only to surpass each other. Saadet-khan advanced several times, like a furious elephant, to the assistance of those that were shedding their blood in the imperial cause; as did also Shir-efken-khan, who threw himself on the enemy's lances, like a famished tiger that defies the hunters. Nevertheless the imperialists seemed to lose ground: and Dervish Ali-khan, commander of Khan Dowran's artillery; Abd-ul-ghany-khan, who commanded that of Heider Kuly-khan, with Meari-khan, his secretary, and Mahomed Jafer, nephew of Hussein-khan, with many others, were already slain; Nusret-yar-khan had two arrows fixed in his body, and Dost Ali-khan was wounded and disabled. On the part of the vezir Abdullah-khan, Shahamet-khan, a commander of great renown, with one of his sons, was killed, together with Abd-ul-kader-khan, brother of the kazy Mir Bahadur Shahy, and his brother Fateh-yar-khan,

and Tahover Ali-khan. Such was the fate also of Abd-ul-ghany-khan, son of Abd-ur-rahim-khan Aurengzeby, of Gholam Mohi-ed-din-khan, of Sabkat-ullah-khan, surnamed Sheikha, and Gholam Ali-khan. These last were three brothers, and all three commanders of importance in Abdullah-khan's army, as also Shujah-khan, son of Belole-khan. All these chieftains were slain on that occasion, where none but the bravest dared to shew their faces: all of them having exhibited feats of prowess and attachment that astonished the beholders. They submitted to their fate without hesitation, and drank of the dregs of the bitter portion presented them by the hand of death. Nejm-ed-din Ali-khan, who had hitherto been the most distinguished of the whole, after having received several sabre wounds, was at last wounded by an arrow, which striking in his eye deprived him of sight, to the unspeakable sorrow of his brother Abdullah-khan, who instantly supported his division with the Seids of Barha that remained about his person. At this time also Churamon Jatt, who was the most active partizan in Abdullah-khan's service, wheeled round and fell upon the rear of the imperialists. On this occasion he seized on a thousand spare bullocks belonging to the artillery, with a number of camels laden with the emperor's private baggage, all of which were

grazing on the banks of the Jumna, and pushing on, he went as far as the imperial camp, where he found a corps ready formed to oppose him. The emperor himself shot an arrow at him, and Mahomed Amin-khan and Hady-khan marched against him with the infantry, which surrounded the royal elephant. Abdullah-khan, occupied only with what was passing on his front, was marching to the assistance of his people, when his flank was attacked by Saadet-khan, Heider Kuly-khan, and Mahomed-khan Bangash. This movement being perceived by Abdullah-khan, he wheeled round and opposed them, though his people were severely galled by Heider Kuly-khan, and that body of expert musqueteers whom he had trained himself. Abdullah-khan lost two officers of distinction in this attack, Shah Habeb-ullah, commander of his artillery, and Seid Ali-khan, brother of his paymaster-general, Abd-ul-mohsen-khan. This attack having somewhat disordered the ranks of Heider Kuly-khan, he formed them again, and being joined by a good corps brought up by Khan Dowran, he renewed the assault with so much vigour, that Abdullah-khan lost his usual presence of mind. He had always made it a rule in the many battles in which he had been engaged, never to be guilty, like other Hindoostany generals, in a moment of danger to

quit his elephant, and combatting on foot, to mix with the crowd. Abdullah-khan, on the contrary, had always remained on his elephant, and had made it a point to display the standard till the last, conceiving that firmness in a commander was more instrumental to the gaining of a battle than a display of personal prowess. Nevertheless, fortune having turned her back upon him, he forgot his own maxim, and jumping from his elephant, took to his sabre and buckler, and mixed with the crowd, although he had still three thousand Seids of Barha about his person, who seemed likely to stand by him to the very last. He was hardly dismounted, when most of his officers and men, taking it for granted that he was slain or disabled, despairing of victory, abandoned their ranks and betook themselves to flight. Some other accounts say, that Seif-ed-din Ali-khan, his own nephew, and one of his best generals, had fallen back before Abdullah-khan had thought of dismounting, and that his example had been followed by others. Be it as it may, Abdullah-khan, although astonished at this desertion, kept his ground manfully, but being surrounded on all sides, and the weight of his armour restraining his activity, he received an arrow in his forehead, and two successive cuts on his neck and hand, and being overcome with fatigue and loss of blood, he was made a prisoner.

At this very moment, his younger brother, Nejm-ed-din Ali-khan, resolved to share his fate, and threw himself forward; they were both about to be slain, when Abdullah-khan was recognized by Heider Kuly-khan, who rescued the brothers from the hands of the soldiery. The destiny of those two noble persons affected an infinite number of men, and people thought they saw them pointed out in these verses of the poet, which were then handed about:

"I am he, who in an attack could bear off on the point of my spear the golden ring,
"But being now forsaken by my good star, and abandoned by fortune,
"Have been in my turn surrounded by a ring and taken—
"Of what avail then is the helmet and cuirass,
"After good fortune has once turned her back?"

Heider Kuly-khan having caused the two noblemen to be raised upon the same elephant, carried them to the emperor, and that prince, who had a great fund of benignity in his nature, cast a look of compassion on them, and consigned them both to Heider Kuly-khan's custody, after which he ordered the royal music to announce the victory. Of the vanquished army, some fled, and some mixed with the victors. Ghazi-ed-din-khan returned to camp, and packing up as much of Abdullah-khan's baggage as had not yet been plundered, fled towards Dehli, during the time when the royal com-

manders and officers were presenting their offerings, congratulating each other, and returning thanks to God for so important a victory. In the enemy's camp, such of the baggage as escaped a general pillage was secured for the emperor's use.

The news of this engagement reached the capital in the evening of the fourteenth of Moharrem, being Friday. Some persons were transported with joy, whilst to others it conveyed affliction. Those attached to the throne ordered the imperial music of the town to announce that happy event to the public; but the family and household of the three Seids slain, performed funeral rites. The women, especially those belonging to Abdullah-khan's three brothers, exhibited the most affecting picture of woe; but some of the inferior females availed themselves of the confusion to carry off whatever came to hand, and stole away in disguise, wearing dirty clothes and common veils. These had disappeared before the government officers thought of taking possession of the palace of the Seids. Some of these women were taken up by the police-officers, but others effected their escape. The ladies of Abdullah-khan's family, so far from quitting the house, remained within their own apartments, and covering themselves from head to foot with the veil of decency and modesty, sat weeping in a circle, without any one offering to move or to escape the dis-

14 Moharrem, A.H. 1133.
24 October, A.D. 1721.

mal scene around them. One Abdullah-khan, of Cashan in Persia, to whom Abdullah-khan, his old friend and master, had intrusted the care of his seraglio, no sooner heard of the disaster that had befallen his benefactor, than, forgetful of what was due from him either as an honest man or a gentleman, had the perfidy to penetrate within the sacred precincts of the seraglio, and to gratify both his infamous lust and avarice. He came to an understanding with the Hindu who commanded the guard, and entering the sanctuary of the women, those two wretches seized and carried away whatever persons and effects they chose; so that this villain has ever been from that moment pointed at with the finger of scorn as an apostate from good faith, a traitor to his benefactor and friend, and an invader of the most sacred rights of humanity. Fortune, who had now turned her back on that forlorn family, seemed bent on rendering abortive every attempt at escape made by any of its members. Gholam Ali-khan, one of the confidential attendants of Abdullah-khan, and another, who, by changing their apparel and disguising their faces, endeavoured to effect their retreat to Jansita, the town where they were born, were intercepted on their way home, and carried to the emperor.

This prince, now firmly seated on his throne, and freed from all anxiety and solicitude, adopted

measures for rewarding the generals and nobles who had so well supported his cause, and honoured them with a variety of titles and offices, and with high preferment. The sixteenth of Moharrem was fixed on for the emperor's departure towards the capital of his empire, whither he marched with so much expedition, that on the nineteenth he reached the monument of Nizam-ud-din Owliah, at which venerable spot he performed his devotions, and bestowed favours and gratuities on every one of the attendants of the shrine of the saint. Here he spent two days, waiting for a fortunate moment. On this occasion he raised Heider Kuly-khan to the rank of eight thousand horse, with the actual command of seven thousand; Saadet-khan was honoured with the title of Bahadur Jung, and was permitted to assume the insignia of the fish,* whilst a variety of favours were poured on every side on their friends and dependants. Nejabet Ali-khan having been brought in whilst the emperor was bestowing preferments and conferring distinctions, that nobleman was received with a look of compassion, and consigned to Heider Kuly-khan's custody.

16 Moharrem, A.H. 1133. 26 October, A.D. 1721.

The ceremonial of the emperor's entry into his capital was fixed for Saturday, the twenty-second of Moharrem, in the year 1133 of the Hegira,

22 Moharrem, A.H. 1133. 2 November, A.D. 1721.

* The order of the fish introduced into India by the Mogols is the highest military decoration that can be conferred.

which took place with suitable pomp, amid the mingled sounds of shouts, of trumpets, and kettle-drums. The emperor's own suite was followed and preceded by lofty elephants, resplendent with gold and silver trappings, by beautiful slave-boys and young men clad in cloth of gold, by a gold throne, and by sedans of jewel-work. Embroidered ensigns and streamers, equally superb and elegant, were borne by crowds of servants shining in gold and silver tissue, that shed a lustre around them. All these were interspersed amongst bodies of troops that marched in battle-array, accompanied by bands of commanders and noblemen, all superbly mounted, and conspicuous by the brightness of their arms and by the richness of their apparel. A number of beautiful horses, with saddles enamelled in gold and jewel-work, announced from afar the emperor's approach: and thus this prince, adorned by all the graces of youth and beauty, made his appearance mounted on a gigantic elephant, and seated upon a throne that literally blazed with a profusion of jewels and rich ornaments. He directed his march through the Ajmere gate, sprinkling the way with handfuls of gold, and enriching by a liberality long forgotten a multitude of needy people, who had long waited for this auspicious moment. He arrived at the imperial palace at the fifth hour of the day, where the empress mother, with a number of prin-

cesses and ladies of the highest distinction, waited for him at the inner door of the female apartments. The empress mother, holding a large plate of gold and silver, filled with new coins of several kinds, and also with a variety of gems and precious jewels, poured the whole as an offering over his head; and after wishing him a long and prosperous reign, she took him by the hand, and introduced him within the imperial sanctuary.

CHAPTER III.

SHORTLY after the coronation, Abd-us-semed-khan, viceroy of Lahore, marched with his son Zakariah-khan, his general and deputy Akgar-khan, and some other noble personages, but he did not arrive in time to be of any service. He was, however, admitted to the honour of paying his respects, and was distinguished by a dress of honour, a tiara of jewels, a poignard, and several other presents. The rank of Zakariah-khan was raised by the additional command of a thousand horse, so that his corps now consisted of full five thousand men. Raja Jye-sing and Raja Giridher not arriving in time to aid the opposite party, were, in the commencement of the month of Sefer admitted to the honour of kissing the threshold of the imperial presence, and they were pardoned. Shortly after an order was issued to put in force the capitation-tax upon the Hindus, but it was remitted on the representation of Raja Jye-sing. Nizam-ul-mulk congratulated the emperor on his victory, and wished him a long and prosperous reign, as did also Murshid Kuly-khan, viceroy of Bengal. The latter announced the arrival of the revenue from

Sefer, A.H. 1133 November, A.D. 1720.

that province, with another large sum from himself as an offering. Honours and dignities were bestowed this day on a number of nobles. Heider Kuly-khan received the title of Moiz-ed-dowlah in addition to that of Nasir-jung which he had already acquired, and Jaafer-khan obtained that of Roshen-ed-dowlah. The command of the household-guard was conferred on Saadet-khan; and Zakariah-khan received the government of Cashmir in lieu of Enaiet-ullah-khan. On Tuesday the twenty-second of Rebi-ul-awal, the emperor being on a hunting party, was informed by a messenger that his vezir Mahomed Amin-khan had been seized with a sudden and excruciating pain in the bowels. The next day his distemper increased in despite of the remedies applied, continued vomiting took place, and he died on the twenty-ninth, after a short administration of three months and twenty-two days. His estate, vastly swollen by the confiscation of Hussein Ali-khan's fortune, rendered him extremely wealthy, and all his property was suffered to pass quietly to his heirs. By his death, God's people were relieved from oppressions which they were likely to suffer. It is related, that intending to enlarge his palace in Dehli, and to enclose more ground within its precincts, he by a single command dispossessed seven hundred housekeepers in his neighbourhood, of their houses and

22 Rebi-ul-awal, A.H. 1133. 10 January, A.D. 1721.

29 Rebi-ul-awal, A.H. 1133. 17 January, A.D. 1721.

real property, without remuneration, who all quitted their homes, and delivered their keys up to his officers. After his death, this property was restored by his son Kamer-ed-din-khan, who renounced the invidious acquisition, and obtained the applause of mankind and the blessing of God on this occasion.

We may observe of Mahomed-shah, who was generally charged with rapaciousness and parsimony, that he does not appear to have merited that character. On the death of Mahomed Amin-khan the imperial treasury was very low, the large sums drawn from all parts of the empire by the two Seids having been lavished in paying their immense levies of troops, and by their preparations for war, so that the emperor benefited very little by what remained in their coffers. The greater part of that which existed there at all, had been made away with by the plundering soldiers, and by their own generals; so much so, that the ornaments of gold and silver which had once decorated the public and private halls of audience, had in their latter days of necessity been converted into coin, while their palaces even required a thorough repair. When the list of the deceased minister's property came to be presented to the emperor, it was estimated at several crores, reckoning only the gold, silver, gems and precious stuffs, all of which he ordered to be left to the

natural heirs. This was generous in the extreme, since it was an established custom among all the emperors of the family of Baber, as well as with all those of the race of Timur, to take possession of the estates and wealth of their deceased ministers and servants, to the exclusion of their heirs, to whom they vouchsafed as a favour, such a share as they thought fit. But, in truth, it was such a custom as neither religion nor justice could justify, that a man, after having served his sovereign during his whole life, at the expense of his sweat and blood, nay, after having perhaps sacrificed himself in his cause, should at his death have all his hard earnings carried away and confiscated, and leave his children destitute, more solicitous of how to subsist the next day, than how to lament his death. It is highly to the credit of Aazem-shah, that with so many precedents before his eyes, he was the first of the race of Timur who totally relinquished that privilege, and expressed a detestation of it. One of his richest ministers having died, a list according to established usage was presented to him of his estate, which in jewels and money alone amounted to an immense sum. The emperor diverted his head from it with strong marks of displeasure, and forbade any one, under pain of his indignation, from presenting to him such papers for the future.

In the reign of Aurengzib, one Mir Mahomed Hussein, a native of the holy city of Meshed in Iran (who, for aught I know to the contrary, may have possibly been, as he pretended, a descendant of one of those Seids entombed there, on whom be peace), hearing of the extreme generosity and munificence of Umdet-el-mulk Amir-khan, governor of Cabul, towards his countrymen, the Persians, quitted his native city, in hopes of preferment, and came to Cabul. As he was skilled in the Arabic language and in philosophy, as well as in other branches of knowledge, his qualities were highly spoken of, insomuch that the son of Amir-khan's secretary, wishing to benefit by his instructions, gave some celebrity to Mir Mahomed Hussein. The instructor's name thus came often to be mentioned with encomiums in Amir-khan's presence, who thereby became desirous of seeing him, and mentioned his name to Sahibji, his consort (daughter of the late Ali Merdan-khan). The reason was this: Sahibji had no children of her own; and, to console herself, she had adopted the daughter of a Seid who had long been in her husband's service, whom she had educated with great care. Her views were to marry this adopted daughter to some virtuous gentleman of her own country (Iran), whenever such a one should happen to come from thence. Sahibji desired her husband to enquire further

regarding Mir Mahomed Hussein, which having done, he conceived a warm regard for him, and mentioned his name with encomiums to his wife. Sahibji accordingly ordered preparations to be made for the wedding, and in a few days she bestowed her adopted daughter on that shrewd man. Being thus introduced into Amir-khan's family, he made acquaintance with the principal men of his court; he obtained office, and got together some money. In a few years after, the office of the superintendence of the perfumery of the imperial household was sent to him from court, at Amir-khan's recommendation; and he, on his part, made friends with several of Amir-khan's children born of other ladies than Sahibji. His ambition being equal to his artifice, he came at last to be considered as an extraordinary personage, on whose sanctity many persons placed great faith. Hadi Ali-khan, the eldest son of Amir-khan, with some others, was among the number who seemed the most attached to him. Amir-khan dying about this time, his consort and family repaired to court; but Mir Mahomed Hussein, attached by his office to the city of Cabul, remained there, and after a certain time prepared a quantity of essence of roses made at Peshaver, as well as a quantity of rose-water and other perfumes, for the emperor's use, and that of the principal lords and grandees of the court.

Thus provided, he set out for the capital, in hopes of recommending himself to the emperor, and pushing his fortune at Dehli. Having arrived at Lahore, he learned that the emperor Aurengzib was no more. His hopes of preferment being blasted by that unexpected event, he sold his perfumery at a high price, and having thereby acquired a sum of money equal to sixty or seventy thousand rupees, he thought it sufficient for the remainder of his life, and putting on the garb of a dervish, and assuming a grave sanctified air, he conceived the design of establishing a new religion. For this purpose he associated with himself that very secretary's son mentioned above, in whom he had discovered much talent, persuading him that if they should form a new sect the consequences would prove of manifold benefits to themselves. In order to effect this purpose, he proposed to invent a new language, which might strike by its singularity, and also enable them to pretend to receive revelations from heaven in a language unknown to others, and that by raising their fame they might at length come to be accounted beings of a superior order, and that having once brought the mob to throng round them, the learned and people of respectability would in time come to be swayed by the popular belief; in which case their credit and influence over both high and low would know no bounds.

As the turn of both their minds was alike, the master's precepts took root in the disciple's heart, and these two persons uniting their efforts, invented a new language, established new grammatical rules, and wrote a book in it, fraught with a number of strange expressions, and full of odd conceits, which by correcting and amending from time to time, they eventually formed into a treatise, which they called Acoza Mucaddes, or the Holy Acoza. As the master was not without learning, he introduced a number of ancient Persian terms and many obsolete words, and having either translated them, or given them a particular termination, he sprinkled them throughout his compositions, which by degrees he put into verse. But his pretensions to sanctity were wild in the extreme, so that it is hardly possible to give an intelligible account of them. In one word, he pretended to be a Bekouk, which novel word he explained as expressive of the middle dignity and nature betwixt prophecy and pontificacy, adding that all prophets had not been Bekouks, but that Mahomed, the last and seal of prophets, had been both a prophet and Bekouk; that the first simple Bekouk was the Prince of Saints, Ali the son of Abu Talib; that Imam Reza was the eighth, and that down to that Imam both the pontificate and Bekoukiety had been united in one and the same

person, until the two natures being separated, the Bekoukiety descended to himself, Mahomed Hussein, on the one hand, and the pontificate to his holiness the Imam Mahomed Taky on the other, from whom it would be continued to the day of judgment: "and I, Mahomed Hussein" (added he), "am the last of the Bekouks." This is how he explained the gift of Bekoukiety when in company with Shias, but when he found himself amongst Sunnies, he commenced his account of it by the four first khalifs, and then added four persons more of the Ommiah and Abbasy families, after whom he reckoned himself the ninth Bekouk. Finally, he used to say, "Gentlemen, I have no business with any man's religion, but I am come like a blazing torch to illuminate every nation and every sect. My character, therefore, is of the highest nature, for I am the ninth Bekouk, who am to be the seal and last of the Bekoukiety, and to whom it has been recommended to write a book to invite all nations to this belief, and to promulgate the tenets of that recent law, the intent whereof is to renew some customs and particular doctrines, so that I am myself under the immediate influence of inspiration from above, and under an obligation to publish those tenets descended to me from heaven."

After having set up such absurd pretensions, he

used at certain solemn festivals of Islam, to assemble his followers, whom he called his Ferabuds, to whom he explained his precepts, and with whom he celebrated certain anniversaries. It is written in the Maasir Nebevy that the revelations which descended to the prophets were of two sorts; this man, therefore, in order to preserve the resemblance, used to say that he was favoured in the same way; at one time receiving the inspiration through the means of a luminous globe, or disc like the sun, on which words appeared to be delineated, and that eventually the luminous globe, having enveloped him in light, deprived him of his senses, in which state he was quite overcome by its effects; at another time, the revelation was made manifest by a voice that pronounced certain mystical words, which he immediately gave out to his followers. The mode of address he instituted was singular. His Ferabuds in their assemblies, after having saluted each other as is customary amongst Mussulmans, by the words *Selam aleikum*, or Peace be on you, he used to add in a lower tone of voice the mystical words *Kefshan nomud bud*. The first day on which he pretended to have received the revelation, he denominated the day of light, and on the anniversary of that day he used to assemble a multitude of people, to whom he distributed a perfume com-

posed of amber, with which they anointed each other's faces, after which they sung and made rejoicings. When his disciples were sufficiently excited by these exertions, he used to display two standards, and putting upon his head a cap, not unlike that worn by Armenians, but a little higher, he marched at the head of his Ferabuds towards those mountains near Lahore, where are to be seen the ancient buildings of Divel Rany, which go by the name of the palace of the Bakhtiaries. This journey he always performed in the night-time. He stated that he received his first revelation on a spot in those hills like the cavern of Herra,* and he used to fast six days previous to the anniversary of the new moon of the month of Zilhij, during which period he remained silent, assuming the appearance of one being dumb; as we read of in scripture, in the case of the wife of Zacharia and the Virgin Mary, when she was delivered of the holy Jesus, who remained silent in order to evade the enquiries made on that occasion, and who replied to no one. While Jesus (on whom, and on whose descendants be the peace of God) replied to them from the cradle, and this miracle fully confirmed the sanctity of his holy birth and the purity of his mother.

* The cave into which Mahomed withdrew from the persecution of his enemies at Mecca.

On the seventh of the said month the rejoicings commenced and ended. For these holidays he had a peculiar name, of which I have been unable to learn the origin, but all I know is that he called them *Sowlan*. On this occasion he used to collect a great multitude in order to pray; and, in addition to the five times of daily worship required to be attended to by divine command, he prayed three times more, *viz*. first, at sun-rising, after the Mussulman morning prayer; secondly, when the sun is on the decline after noon; thirdly, at sun-set, when the horizon still preserved some redness in the west. The rites performed on the anniversary were the following: he stood in the midst of his Ferabuds, causing them to form round him four ranks in a square, like the four walls of a house; those of each rank standing with their faces towards the four cardinal points. After having pronounced the mystical words taught by their master, each person inclined his head very low, at the same time turning his body to the left in such a way that those fronting the north should face the north-west; those fronting the west, the south-west; those fronting the south, the east; and those fronting the east, the north. After having in this manner changed their positions, they cast their eyes upon the ground, after which, raising their heads upwards, they

looked at the heavens, and repeated at each time their particular mystical sentences.

After three genuflexions, they returned to their former position. The saint then addressed the people assembled in a circle about his person, saying, "I am that being (great God, what blasphemy!!) that was brought into the world by the young Fatema, on whom be peace, when she suffered an abortion." He also made use of other blasphemous and impious falsehoods, which I do not now remember. What I relate is from that which I have collected myself from his two sons, Shah Feghar and Shah Did, with whom I have conversed several times, as well as with his principal followers, when I first went to Shah-jehan-abad, which was about the end of Mahomed-shah's reign and the beginning of Ahmed-shah's. This impostor nominated four successors, in imitation of the succession of the four khalifs. The first of these was Narshid, for whom he had coined in his new language the name of Vezibar; the second was Mir Bakir, son-in-law of Amir-khan, besides two more for whom he coined the names of Nemud-ullah and Nemuda-nemud; and in the same manner he gave strange names to his children and to his followers, all of which were derived from his newly-invented language; for whoever presented himself

for admission was sure to receive a new name, which was deemed a sign of acceptance into the mysteries, nor was admittance given on any other terms. Mir Mahomed Hussein Bekouk had three sons; to the first of whom he gave the name or sign of Numa-nemud, to the second that of Fezhar, to the third that of Did. His two daughters were called Nemuna the elder and Nemuna the younger; and to three of his relatives on his wife's side (whose name he changed into that of Hava-Numa), he gave the names of Numa-yar, Nemud-yar, and Fernemud. In the end, that worthless liar quitting Lahore, came some time after to Shah-jehan-abad,* where he took up his abode; and as Bahadur-shah resided at a distance from the city, his circle of stupid followers increased daily, so that he drew to his net every ignorant sot who was to be captivated with novelty. As he had private property of his own, he made a parade of his disinterestedness, nor would he ever ask or accept of any thing; insomuch that the multitude were amazed to find he subsisted by such apparently invisible means: they therefore gave him the more credit for what he said, although they did not understand his language. By degrees his followers swelled to such numbers, and proved so zealous in alluring others, that at last they formed a vast multitude. Bahadur-

* Dehli.

shah dying about this time, there arose divisions amongst the princes of the blood, which occasioned dissensions in every city and in every town; and the impostor, availing himself of this opportunity to make proselytes, and growing bold and daring, now dropped the veil he had before assumed, and brought forth his new book and new language, shewed himself to the gazing populace, and fearlessly exchanged his former obscurity for the broad sunshine of publicity. His skill and subtilty in argument rendered him a formidable adversary, so that whenever any one attempted to raise objections to his pretensions, he was overpowered by his controversial expertness and by his sophistry. The lower classes, confounded at what they saw and heard, flocked to him in great numbers. This was the case throughout that period of dissensions which ended in placing Ferokh-siar on the throne, a prince exceedingly ignorant himself; whilst his two ministers, busy in their own affairs, minded nothing else: Hussein Ali-khan being mostly engaged in wars and expeditions, and the other brother, Abdullah-khan, being engrossed by his pleasures: excepting indeed when his attention was now and then roused by the emperor's intrigues against him, at which time he had too much business of his own on hand to think of the imposture and lies of that worthless false prophet. The new

sect continued to spread, and Kadi-khan, son of Amir-khan, a man of the first rank and distinction, became one amongst his many followers. His conversation produced so imposing an effect on the mob, that they readily adopted his belief; so that in a little time he could reckon five and twenty thousand men in his assembly at one time. The emperor Ferokh-siar himself, at the instance of some of his courtiers, lost to all sense of religion and decency, once went to see that impostor. It was in the night time and in disguise, accompanied only by some eunuchs, but without any retinue, and without imparting his design to any one. The impostor Nemud, having got notice of this visit from a prince equally silly and ignorant, had the assurance and cunning to close the door of his apartment from within, and to make some difficulty in opening it, whilst the emperor descended to entreaties and supplications, supported by the impostor's children and disciples.

At last he was prevailed on to open the door. The emperor on seeing him, inclined his body, made a bow, and went forward. Nemud, drawing out a stag's hide, spread it for the prince, and said, "Here is what will suffice as a seat either for a king or a beggar, chuse which you please to be." Ferokh-siar, pleased with his boldness in the midst of his apparent poverty, conceived a

higher opinion of his sanctity, and on his departure presented him with a bag containing a thousand rupees and ashrefies,* mixed together, with a quilted carpet. The impostor rejected both; nor was it till after a thousand refusals that he could be prevailed upon to present the prince with a koran of his own writing, for which he deducted seventy rupees out of the bag (this being his stated price for korans of this description), and returned the rest. The emperor stood up out of respect to receive the koran, carried it to his forehead, and making his bow, returned home. Nemud did not reconduct the prince out of the room; but on finding the bag and money on the floor, he ordered it to be distributed among the by-standers, affecting a piece of self-denial, by which he raised his character so high in the public estimation, that nothing henceforward could shake it, and rendered him more bold than ever. He now thought it unnecessary to make a secret of the festivals and fasts which he had appointed, nor had he the least scruple in openly displaying his standard within the city, and marching in state to his place of meeting, which he always did at the head of a great mob of his disciples; and after having performed the ridiculous ceremonies of his order, he used to re-

* The rupee is of silver, the ashrefy is a gold coin of the same size.

turn in triumph in the same way amidst vast crowds, who repeated in a loud singing voice the mystical words of the sect.

The reign of Ferokh-siar being at an end, and the power and influence of the two Seid brothers having ceased, the crown descended to Mahomed-shah, and the office of vezirship to his favourite Mahomed Amin-khan, whose ministry lasted only three or four months and some days, as has been shewn. He chanced to hear some days before his death of the outrageous proceedings of the impostor Nemud, and directed a party of soldiers, then at his gate, to set out immediately, and to seize and bring before him that *pimp*, for such was his expression. The soldiers had peremptory orders, and were directed to kill him even if he made the least resistance. As it was past noon when this order was given, and the vezir had dismissed his people, there were but few men at the gate, and only part of those went to the impostor's house, where they communicated their orders. At that moment Kefshan-Nemud, for so he styled himself, was taking his meal, and hearing the soldiers talk without, he lost his presence of mind, and remained stupified with fear; but having time to recollect himself, he sent out his youngest son Did, who was extremely handsome, and putting into his hands a few cakes of mixed wheat and

barley, with some dishes of pulse and greens, which he had before him, sent this message to the soldiers: "Friends! as you are come to a Fakir's house, partake of his fare for a while, until he comes himself." The soldiers, equally surprized, and struck with the singularity of the message, the beauty and tender age of the messenger, waited awhile. In the mean time, Mahomed Amin-khan being seized with a severe paroxysm of the cholic, the news in an instant spread, and reaching the soldiers, they all left Nemud, and repaired to their station at their master's gate, being anxious to have the arrears due to them settled. The vezir, who was attacked by the most violent type of that distemper, had lost his senses, and was speechless; but as soon as he could open his eyes, he asked where was the impostor Nemud. It was represented to him, that his illness had so much affected his servants, that their attention was entirely engrossed by his situation, on which account the seizure of the impostor had been neglected. The minister was displeased, and ordered him to be brought without fail on the morrow-morning. But in the evening being again seized with another violent attack, his life was despaired of. Nemud was thinking how to make his escape, but Hadi Ali-khan, and some others of his friends conveying intelligence of the minister's

desperate state, he gained courage, and sent for a number of his followers, who now joined him, to whom he gave intimation of the vezir's being in the agonies of death. On this he confidently came out of his house, and took his seat in the mosque close to his own door, while his disciples and friends filled the mosque and the street. At this moment Kamer-ed-din-khan, son of the dying minister, partaking of the fears and superstition of the old women of the seraglio, and of the apprehensions of men as weak as the women themselves, sent at day-break his steward with a bag of five thousand rupees to the impostor, as an offering of atonement for his father's conduct, and a request to have some amulets of his own writing sent to him as a preventive against danger. Nemud, who had just received a short note with intelligence of the minister's death, said in a high tone of voice, "I have shot such an arrow into that pagan's heart, as will never allow him to recover; nevertheless, in imitation of my ancestor Ali, who suffered martyrdom in a mosque, I am come to receive that honour in this place: although, indeed," he added, after a pause, "I cannot properly receive it, since I have already suffered once," an expression by which he alluded to the abortion sustained by the young Fatema. He was yet speaking, when Kamer-ed-din-khan's

steward came in, and laid the money at his feet, as the price for his writing an amulet; adding, at the same time, an humble message from the son, expressive of a hope that he would forgive Mahomed Amin-khan's transgressions. The impostor replied, that an arrow once shot, and water once spilt, could not return. This answer having produced fresh entreaties and supplications, he turned towards his future successor, and bade him write these Arabic words of the koran. "We have sent the koran down for the benefit of true believers; but there is in it nothing for tyrants, but loss and destruction." The paper being written, he put it in the steward's hands, and bade him carry it quickly, "Although," added he, "I know it will avail nothing, as by the time thou shalt arrive, the man will have already ceased to live." The steward humbly insisted on his accepting the money, but he refused it constantly, saying, that for his part he would not so much as touch it, but that the poor people present might take it, if they pleased. Hardly had these words issued from his lips, when those Indian beggars, accustomed to overrun our cities for the sake of a few pieces of copper, rushed in on the instant and made away with the whole sum. The steward, on his return, heard by the way that the vezir was dead, and the intelligence being then pub-

licly announced to Nemud, he got up, dismissed the multitude, and went home with an air of satisfaction and triumph. Meanwhile this miracle being noised abroad, and being exaggerated all over the city, did not fail to produce a plentiful addition of sots and idiots, who became his followers. Three years after this Nemud himself died, and was succeeded by his eldest son Numa-Nemud, who fell out with his brothers, and with several of his father's followers, on account of the shares of a family-estate with which he had been presented by his disciple Hadi Ali-khan, and which the father had assigned to Vezibar, and other confidential disciples in his lifetime, as an acknowledgment for their faithful services. These disputes did not please Vezibar, who more than once observed to Nemud, that he had better be peaceable, and not fall out with one, who by his age was not likely to live many years longer. But Numa-Nemud, who already in his father's lifetime was accustomed to govern his followers, did not suppose that they could alter the prevalent notions of his sanctity, and paid no attention to Vezibar's clamours. This conduct incensed the latter, who thought himself equal to his master in every imposture, and had invariably acted as his right-hand disciple. These dissensions ran so high, that one day, while the congregation of

Ferabuds was more numerous than usual, he appeared in the midst of them, and with great deliberation delivered himself in these words: "Friends (said he), do you know my hand-writing from that of the late Nemud?" He was answered in the affirmative by numbers who really knew both, upon which he went into a closet and brought out from thence the flap of his cloak full of papers, containing the rough draughts and original minutes of the law-book which the impostor had published. These appeared evidently written by both hands alternately, with many alterations and interlineations in either hand, and many erasures. These being handed about amongst the bystanders, most of whom could readily distinguish one hand from the other, Vezibar addressed them in these words: "Friends, let me tell you that this new religion and sect have been contrived by Nemud with your humble servant's assistance. Had these documents come from God, they would have come without needing so much erasure, and so many alterations and corrections." These words struck the whole assembly with astonishment, the writings and evidence being acknowledged on all hands. Many who had still some common sense left, only smiled at their own credulity, and went quietly away, much shaken in their belief; and in a few days the apostacy in-

creased, till that mixed assemblage of impostors, idiots, and knaves was very much diminished. Numa Nemud, confounded at this reverse, became reconciled to Vezibar; but it was too late, the die was cast, and Numa Nemud finding how matters stood, retired to an estate in the Doab, with which Hadi Ali-khan had presented the family. Here he took up his abode, styling himself Shah Feghar.

Shah Feghar was a man of pleasing countenance, and very sensible in his conversation, nor was he destitute of learning. The author of this work knew both him and his brother Did, as well as Vezibar, as also Mir Bakir, who all became his successors, each in his turn. He has seen and known them all personally, spoken often to them, and that which has been recorded in these pages is the result of what he has heard from their mouths, or of what was said by those who knew them for many years past. Shah Feghar lived in the reign of Mahomed-shah, and he even saw some years of the beginning of Ahmed-shah's reign. The latter monarch, who after Nadir-shah's departure was known to amuse himself with dervishes and other religious persons, gave him free access to his person at all times. After that prince's decease, he found means to introduce himself to the Nawab Javid-khan, another inspired personage, whose revelations, called *Javidian*, were collected into one volume.

Did, the younger brother of Shah Feghar, died about this time, and was in a few years followed by his elder brother, Shah Feghar. Did died in the beginning of Mahomed-shah's reign. Most of his father's sectaries were already dead in Shah Feghar's life-time, and more deserted him after that event; nor did there remain to him but a very few idiots, who were stupidly attached to those absurdities.

After Shah Feghar's decease and the ruin of Shah-jehan-abad, some of Nemud's nearest relations, like the remains of the tribes of Ad and Semud, taking a dislike to that ruined city, repaired to Bengal, where they were recommended by some silly courtiers to Miren, the son of Mir Jaafer-khan, who had assumed the Nizamet or government of that province; and they were so well supported that Miren presented them with a spot of ground, since called Kadem-i-Rusul, and a pension of five rupees a day. Most of these people were already gone to hell, the place of their destination, in Mir Jaafer-khan's life-time; of which prince I propose to speak at large in the subsequent pages of this work. No one of that worthless impostor's race remains that I know of, except Numa Nemud-yar, and some of the impostor's women,
A.H. 1194. who are alive at this day, in the year 1194 of the
A.D. 1780. Hegira; so that, having brought the account of

the race of that wicked man to an end, thanks to God, we can now revert to our general history.

It is said that Mahomed Amin-khan bore such a rooted aversion to the descendants of the prophet, and detested so violently those descended from Ali, the Prince of the Just, than on hearing a man singing the words, "Ali is the saint of God," he ordered his tongue to be cut out; and there is a common report that, in imitation of some pious persons who spread a table of victuals as an offering to the King of Heroes,* and humbly waited for a token of his acceptance, as an atonement of their sins, he ordered such a table to be spread on his own account for the purpose of ridicule. Now such a token is often granted by his majesty the King of Heroes to those who have sincere faith, and it has been frequently witnessed by thousands of people, some of whom were men of great sense and knowledge, and rather prone to incredulity. It has occurred to my humble self in particular, who have often made such an offering, and have as often observed a variety of tokens of acceptation, for which I return my respectful acknowledgments to God Almighty. This truth the wretched minister could not bear to hear mentioned in his presence; and his aversion to the Seids was such, that even his friends, servants, and dependants

* Ali is styled Shah-i-merdan, or king of heroes.

made no hesitation to call him Moaviah* and Yezid, of which names he seemed to be proud. He once said that he wanted himself to offer such a table of victuals to those two venerable personages, in hopes of having a token of acceptance by some visible sign, in approbation of his attachment to them. This was done in order to expose those persons who have faith in Ali. In order to put his plan into execution, an entertainment was prepared in a retired apartment of the seraglio. The governor made shift, with his broken constitution, to limp thither, with a number of select persons, and to pronounce the *fateha*, or benediction, in the name of those persons; after which he went away, shutting the door of the room, and putting the key of it into the hands of an old woman of his household, whom he placed to watch. She was ordered in an hour's time to open the door and to see what sign had appeared, so as to make her report to him, that he might immediately repair thither with his courtiers, and convince the incredulous. The woman happened herself to be a Shiah† in her heart, but she concealed her opinions and principles in his house. After a full hour had elapsed she opened the door, and saw an

* Two of the caliphs of Damascus who persecuted the family of Ali.

† A sectarian of the house of Ali.

ugly black dog sitting quietly upon his hams, and tasting leisurely of every plate. Struck with the sight, she ran to her master out of breath, and screamed out, "Why, my lord, should you longer wait for a sign? Here is his holiness come himself: he has honoured your table with his presence, and is actually tasting of every dish." Mahomed Amin-khan, getting up with all those present, repaired to the chamber; whilst the old woman, apprehensive of her life, slunk away. The governor having arrived, saw with his own eyes the dog feeding heartily, and being incensed beyond measure, he wanted to put the old woman to death; but, although every search was made for her, she could never be found. He suspected treachery, and on speaking of the trick afterwards, he would often bite his lips in the excess of his anger and resentment, but without being able to wreak his resentment upon any one. At last he quitted this world, and repaired to that place which was most fit for him.

It is reported by people of veracity, that on Amir Jumlah being appointed to the government of Azim-abad Patna, the lords and grandees of the court went out of the city to wish him a good journey and to take their leave, but the late Niamet-ullah-khan, son of Roh-ullah-khan, being on that day taken up with the mourning-rites and other ceremonials practised in the first ten days of

Moharrem (in commemoration of the death of the Prince of Martyrs, Hussein son of Ali, on whom be peace), came late, and excused himself to Amir Jumlah by saying that he had been mourning. Mahomed Amin-khan happened to be present at that visit, and sat on one side of Amir Jumlah, whilst Niamet-ullah-khan sat on the other. On hearing the apology, Mahomed Amin-khan asked whether any person had died in his lordship's palace. Niamet-ullah-khan answered in the negative, but added that his mourning was on account of the Prince of Martyrs Hussein; and " Pray, my lord," replied Mahomed Amin-khan, " were not Hussein and Yezid descendants of the same holy family, and does it become us to mourn for the one and to reject the other." " The younger son of the holy family," rejoined Niamet-ullah-khan, " was killed, and we mourn for him, whereas your younger son of the holy family gained the victory, do you then rejoice on his account." At these words the conversation grew warm, and they both laid their hands upon their daggers, when Amir Jumlah interposing, made up the matter. But to return to public affairs.

Mahomed Amin-khan being dead, the emperor, without making a new vezir, appointed Enaiet-ullah-khan, one of the old nobles of Aurengzib's court, to act as deputy in that high office, and he

installed him in his new dignity with a rich dress of honour. At that moment his majesty's attention was arrested by the following official report; *viz.* that "Nizam-ul-mulk, his faithful servant, after having set in order the affairs of the government of Hydrabad, was coming to the presence, and had marched as far as Ferdapoor, where being informed of commotions excited by some refractory Afghans of Bijapoor, and by some rebellious zemindars of the Carnatic, he had hastened thither to put an end to those disturbances." A communication was at the same time presented from the Sahu Raja,* with an offering of five hundred ashrefies in congratulation of his imperial majesty's victory. The emperor dismissed Abd-us-semed-khan, governor of Lahore, to his post, while Kamer-ed-din-khan was invested with his father's title of Etimad-ed-doulah. Moiz-ed-doulah Heider Kuly-khan had his surname of Nasir Jung exchanged for that of Feroz Jung; Saadet-khan was nominated to the government of Acberabad (Agra), and Mahomed-khan Bangash, who had been promoted to the government of Ilah-abad, and had already set out for it, was recalled within the city, on account of his setting up some unwarrantable pretensions for the lands of his jaghir, and on account of some other points. He

* Raja of Sattara.

was reprimanded in the first place, and subsequently taken into favour again, and appointed anew. At the same time the imperial gazette from Hydrabad brought the following news: that on the seventh of Sefer, of the second year of his majesty's reign, there fell out of season such a vast quantity of rain in the Carnatic, that all the rivers, reservoirs, and pieces of water, had overflowed their banks; that all the grounds to the distance of ten or twelve coss to the right and left were under water; that the deluge had swept off and drowned numbers of men and cattle, carrying away whole villages and towns, and levelling them with the ground. A mountain in the same country had split in two and crushed under its ruins a whole town, with all its inhabitants and cattle, and had ruined the whole country around. The emperor soon after went out on a hunting excursion, accompanied by Akgar-khan the Turk, on which occasion he spoke Turkish to him during the whole time, and shewed him much kindness and attention. Three or four days after, the emperor, of his own accord, and without any one's mediation, added fifteen hundred horse to his grade, and a thousand more to his command, making him at the same time a present of a tiara of jewels and a kettle-drum. In a few days more, another thousand horse were added to his grade, and another

to his command, so that in a short space he was raised to the grade of four thousand horse, and to the actual command of three thousand. At this time news came from Acberabad that Dilere-khan, the lieutenant of Mahomed-khan Bangash, having some disputes about his master's estate with a zemindar of the country of Bundelcund, had repaired thither with a body of two thousand horse, in order to examine the disputed grounds himself, but that the conference having grown into a serious dispute, ended in a battle, in which Dilere-khan was slain, with about eight hundred of his men. On this intelligence the emperor ordered a letter of condolence, with a dress and tiara, to be sent to Mahomed-khan Bangash's son.

After having interrupted the narrative by relating these little occurrences, we shall revert to the thread of our history. The inhabitants of the province of Ajmere, and the people of Ahmedabad Guzerat, being dissatisfied with their governor, the Nawab Raja Jye-sing, they sent some of their body to complain of him at court. They found that the raja, out of hatred to the two Seid brothers, and also out of dislike to the Mussulmans in general, with whom he was eternally at variance, had been guilty of various excesses. These complaints being well-grounded, the raja was removed, and HeiderKuly-khan was appointed

to the government of Guzerat, comprehending the military command of all the districts, together with the controul of the exchequer, to all of which duties were added the command of the troops, and the receipts of the duties of the city and port of Surat. Kazem-khan, one of the officers of the province of Guzerat, was appointed *naib-subah* (lieutenant-governor), with three thousand horse added to his grade, and two thousand to his command, and was honoured with the title of Shujaat-khan, with a standard and a nagara, as was his brother Moorteza-Kuly-Beg, with the grade of a thousand horse and the command of five hundred, and the title of Rostem Ali-khan. To these distinctions were added the deputy-governorship of the several pergunnahs, or districts dependant. Distinctions were likewise bestowed on Ray Ragunat, divan of Heider Kuly-khan. He was first promoted to a higher grade, and to an additional command, and then ordered to attend to the finances of Guzerat, and to the duties of the port of Surat. As a compensation to Kamer-ed-din-khan, who had heretofore enjoyed the collection of that port, he received the office of fojdary* of Muradabad, vacant by Heider Kuly-khan's promotion. The government of the province of Ajmere was bestowed on Muzaffer Ali-khan, a nobleman,

* Commander of the troops, and the chief executive officer.

who had been introduced at court by Khan Dowran and Raja Jye-sing Sevai. He was further presented with a tiara of jewels, a dress of honour, and an elephant, and then permitted to proceed to his government. Attah-ullah-khan, son of Enaiet-ullah-khan, was appointed to the office of post-master-general, as was Fazl Ali-khan to the elephant-office, vacant by Terbiet-khan's removal. Saad-ed-din Ali-khan, who had come on the part of Nizam-ul-mulk to pay his respects, and who on that general's recommendation had been promoted to the grade of five thousand horse, with the command of three thousand, was now honoured with a dress.

News were about this time received that Raja Ajit-sing's naib, or deputy, in Ahmedabad, being informed of his master's removal, and sensible that he should himself soon meet with his reward for the oppressions he was guilty of towards all ranks of men, resolved, before a successor should arrive, to have revenge on the inhabitants, by plundering the merchants and sacking the city, ere he finally took his leave. But he was mistaken. There was then in the city a nobleman called Mehr Ali-khan, who having been paymaster of the forces, and deputy-governor on the part of the Raja Ajit-sing, had fallen under the lash of the auditor's office, and now lived upon ill terms

with his former master, as well as with the new governor. Heider Kuly-khan, and his friend Sefdar-khan, being also dissatisfied with the lieutenant-governor, united in order to rid themselves of him, both for their own sakes, and in hopes of recommending themselves to the new governor. Accordingly, calling to their assistance a number of Afghans, and a multitude of the inhabitants, they fell upon the lieutenant-governor, and after a bloody engagement, in which a vast number of Rajpoots were slain, they drove the former out of the city. The naib, or lieutenant-governor, having taken shelter in the house of a nephew of Sefdar-khan Babi, was besieged therein, and at last escaped out of the city with the utmost difficulty to Joodpore, his native country. In his flight he took care to plunder some villages and districts that were on his way. Mehr Ali-khan and his colleague having taken revenge on that miscreant, sent word to Nahir-khan, divan of Ahmedabad, who was also one of the dependants of the Seids, desiring him to abstain from meddling with the public money in the treasury, or with the affairs of government. Nahir-khan, who felt himself strong, asked them by whose authority they addressed him. They were proceeding to an open rupture, when Shujaat-khan arrived with a patent under the hand and seal of Heider Kuly-khan; at

sight of which Nahir-khan evacuated the city, and this little disturbance accelerated some promotions intended by the court.

Seid Nusret-yar-khan, subadar or viceroy of Azimabad Patna, received the title of Rukn-ed-doulah, with the additional rank of a thousand double horse cavalry; Shir-afken-khan was promoted to the government of Multan, with the title of Izzet-ed-doulah. News now came from Acberabad that Saadet-khan had besieged four forts betwixt Mutra and the capital, which served as shelter to a multitude of banditti and zemindars that infested the country. It was stated that he had taken them with the loss of four hundred men and a vast slaughter of the enemy. Orders were in consequence given for sending to that general a letter of congratulation, with a dress, and a poignard studded with jewels.

The emperor at the same time, although by disposition little fitted for business, yet, in order to shew his inclination to do good and to afford justice, ordered that a bell should be made fast to a long chain, so that it might hang down on the outside of the octagon tower that overlooks the water of the river Jumna, in order to put it in the power of any one who should deem himself aggrieved and could not obtain admittance at the gate of the castle, to have recourse to the chain, and to ring the bell. The ninth of Sheval, the

anniversary of the emperor's accession to the throne, was celebrated with great pomp and magnificence. Before the end of this year, Muzaffer Ali-khan having been appointed to the government of Ajmere, was, for want of means and proper equipage, detained at Revari, only three coss from the capital, when news came that Raja Ajit-sing had marched to that country from Joodpoor, with an army of thirty thousand horse, accompanied by a number of zemindars and Rajpoots. The new governor was now obliged to make a further stay. Ajit-sing meanwhile having possessed himself of the city of Ajmere, first of all published by beat of drum that all shopkeepers and mechanics should keep themselves quiet, and attend to their callings as usual without apprehension; and, secondly, in order to recover his character, which had suffered so much by his former ill-usage of the Mussulmans, he sent for the superintendants of the mosques, and recommended their performing their religious rites as usual. He also gave a sum of money towards the repairs of those holy places; after which, having assembled all the crown officers, he produced an imperial patent, marked with the impression of the emperor's whole hand, conferring on him, under the most sacred oaths and solemn promises, the gift of the two governments of Ajmere and Ahmedabad for life. As the raja was known

to be a friend of the Seids and a man of great power, whom it was important to gain over, the patent had been placed in his hands by the empress mother on the first intelligence of Refi-ed-derjat's approaching dissolution, and of her son Roshan-akhtar's probable accession to the throne. Of this patent the Hindu prince ordered authentic copies to be taken by the imperial minister of finance, and he sent them, under cover of letters of his own, both to Khan Dowran and to Zafer-khan, the two principal ministers. The purport of his representation was, that although it was contrary to the promise made to him, to deprive him of either of his governments, yet that in compliance with the imperial pleasure he had withdrawn from the province of Ahmedabad Guzerat; but that after such a sacrifice, to be deprived of the province of Ajmere also, would so deeply affect his honour in the eyes of his clan and of the whole world, that he could no more shew himself in public; that as honour had been at all times dearer than life to men of high feelings, he hoped, out of respect to his situation, his majesty would condescend to leave him one of those two governments, as his life and head depended on his decision.

In the month of Zilhij of this year, Padshah-begum, daughter of Aurengzib, called also Zinet-el-nissa, departed this life. Zilhij, A.H. 1133. September, A.D. 1721.

Khan Dowran, on receiving the letter from Ajit-sing, and who desired to avoid all dissensions, the more especially as at present there was very little money in the treasury, would willingly have acceded to his wishes; but as Ajmere was a province adjoining the territory of the capital, and as it contained a number of tombs and monuments of ancient holy personages, it was thought indecent to commit it to the care of any one but a Mussulman attached to the emperor. It was therefore deemed advisable to surrender Guzerat to the Hindu prince. The emperor himself, however, with all of his court (especially Heider Kuly-khan), were more disposed to reduce the raja by force, and to chastise him for his presumption in demanding one of these governments, than to submit to his terms. But this was no easy task; for, after much consultation, none of the nobles shewed any willingness to undertake it, and Heider Kuly-khan himself proposed to send for Saadet-khan from Acberabad for that purpose. This general, who was a man of high military reputation, immediately obeyed the imperial mandate and hastened to court, giving orders for his cavalry and infantry to follow as fast as they could with his equipage and artillery. Arrived at court, he suggested amongst other things the propriety of being furnished with the necessaries requisite for a siege; but it soon appeared that some officers,

disinclined from proceeding on that service, opposed his views.

Intelligence now arrived that Muzaffer Ali-khan, incapable of satisfying the claims of his troops, had suffered them to plunder two or three towns of the dependency of Ajmere for their subsistence, and that the mutineers had now surrounded their general. They had in the end forced him to part with whatever he possessed in discharge of their pay, not excepting his personal horses and elephants, so that finding himself reduced to a situation so humiliating for a noble of his rank in life, he fled to Amber, and took shelter under the Raja Jye-sing's deputy, from whence he sent back to court both his dress of investiture, and his patent of governor. But the disgrace of Muzaffer Ali-khan was not complete, for Ajit-sing's two sons having put themselves at the head of a large body of troops, penetrated into his government, and sacked and plundered four or five villages of the imperial territory. Meanwhile a number of banditti and zemindars joined together, and availing themselves of the times, and of Ajit-sing's approbation, fell upon the town of Narnole. Bayezid-khan, the fojdar of the place, who had come out to make his tour, thinking himself overmatched by numbers, fled, and was with the utmost difficulty re-enforced by his nephew, who was then within

the town. The principal men of that unfortunate place finding themselves forsaken by their rulers, resolved to sell their lives as dear as possible in defence of their property and of the honour of their families; and having fought bravely as long as they could, they concluded with the Indian custom, as a point of honour, of destroying their families, which they put to the sword with their own hands, and then laid violent hands on themselves. The wretched oppressors having at last mastered the town, plundered it so mercilessly, as to leave not a rag upon either man or woman, carrying away multitudes into captivity. This intelligence coming to court, Khan Dowran resolved to march himself and to chastise Ajit-sing, and he actually sent his equipage out of town, but as there was an enmity of long standing between him and the Moguls of the court, and as he was aware how unprovided the public treasury was to meet the expense of such a campaign, he did not go farther, but amused the public with a variety of pretexts and excuses. Heider Kuly-khan, who had hitherto harboured some ill-will against him, now offered his services, and bound himself by the most solemn oaths to follow his fortunes, whether good or bad. He offered to place himself under his command, and to lead the advance against the enemy. Heider Kuly-khan having now become

hearty in the cause, urged and reproached Khan Dowran, but to no purpose, for the latter being little disposed to prosecute the expedition, remonstrated secretly with the emperor, saying, that should the raja gain an advantage over the imperialists, it would be difficult to remedy the disorder with an army ill paid, an empty treasury, and a court full of factions and dissentions: that even admitting that the enemy should be driven from the field, the raja would withdraw to the difficult mountains and deep valleys of his hereditary dominions, where none would have either perseverance or courage to follow him. He stated, in short, that it would be improper to pursue such an expedition, whilst there was at home so great a want of zeal for the cause, and such a disposition for disunion and misunderstanding as effectually damped every one's spirit. This representation affected none but Kamer-ed-din-khan. On Khan Dowran's shewing so much backwardness, he engaged to conduct the war; but he requested that the two prisoners, Abdullah-khan and Nejm-ed-din Ali-khan, should be set at liberty and made over to him, as he intended to employ their services in the future campaign. He likewise made some other proposals that did not please the emperor. The granting liberty to Abdullah-khan was very unwelcome to most of the courtiers, and Kamer-ed-din-khan's

expedition was prevented. Some words having passed on that occasion between Kamer-ed-din-khan and Khan Dowran, the latter kept his house for some days, and abstained from going to court; but the emperor, conceiving it improper that a schism should arise between the two principal ministers of the empire, found means to reconcile them, and to put an end to their coldness. Meanwhile, what betwixt these broils and reconciliations, the war against Ajit-sing was suspended. It must be acknowledged that repeated letters had passed between that raja and Khan Dowran the minister, who was endeavouring to soothe his mind, and to reclaim him from his disloyal intentions, and recommended him to reflect on the consequences of his revolt.

At the same time news arrived at court that Nizam-ul-mulk was coming to the presence. That viceroy, after having settled the affairs of the Carnatic, returned to his head-quarters, Aurengabad,
17 Zilhaj, A.H. 1133. where he arrived early in the month of Zilhaj. He
16 September, A.D. 1722. now set forth on the seventeenth of that month, with the intention of repairing to the presence. Having arrived at Boorhanpoor, he sent for Dianet-khan, a nobleman, sometime before proposed by the emperor for the office of divan of the Deckan, presented him with a dress and an elephant, and gave him possession of that office. The viceroy's

approach to the capital being now certain, all other affairs of state were suspended until his arrival.

News came also by the route of Cabul and Peshawer, that Khana-zad-khan, who had been sent by Serbelend-khan, his father, to quell some disturbances that had arisen in Cabul, had been stopped at the same place where Mahomed Amin-khan, the son of Amir Jumlah, had once before been plundered. Khana-zad-khan now underwent the same fate, being surrounded by the mountaineer Afghans. The young man being prepared for defence, a very brisk engagement ensued, in which Shah Mujahed-khan, an officer of character, who commanded the main body, was wounded, and taken, with the loss of about eight hundred of his bravest men. Khana-zad-khan, after having exerted himself to the utmost, had two horses killed under him, and was himself wounded with a musket-ball, so that finding it in vain to contend any longer with so small a number of men, he quitted the field, and saved his life; but the whole of his baggage, with the tents, elephants, and artillery, fell into the enemy's hands. The Cabul Gazette mentioned likewise that Abd-us-semed-khan, governor of Lahore, whose son, Zacariah-khan, had been appointed governor of Cashmir, hearing of the troubles in that country, and of the defection of Ashref-ed-

din, son of the late Muhtevi-khan, who had surrounded and besieged his deputy, resolved to punish that intruder, and putting himself at the head of three or four thousand Mogul horse, marched with such expedition, that he arrived unexpectedly in Cashmir. Ashref-ed-din not daring to stand his ground before such a general, at first kept out of the way, and thinking it wise to submit without dispute, he surrendered his person, and the troubles subsided.

There were at this time in Cashmir numbers of people who enjoyed charitable pensions from the imperial treasury, and many others who had estates granted on the same principle. Every one of these whom the general considered to have been engaged in the late troubles, lost their pensions, and their grants were resumed.

The news of the restoration of tranquillity in Cashmir was followed by another piece of intelligence still more agreeable to the imperial family. On Thursday the twenty-ninth of the month of Muharrem, of the year 1134 of the Hegira, a daughter was born in the palace, and on the nineteenth of the month of Sefer, the daughter of the late Ferokh-siar was espoused by the emperor, and the marriage celebrated with all the pomp and magnificence which the dignity of the emperor required.

29 Muharrem, A.H. 1134. 8 November, A.D. 1721. 19 Sefer, A.H. 1134. 29 November, A.D. 1721.

The contract was read, and the religious rites performed under the influence of the sign of Leo; and the ceremony having been continued for some time with feastings, illuminations, music, and dances, customary in Hindoostan on these occasions, the solemnity ended by the princess becoming the reigning empress of Dehli.

Meanwhile Nizam-ul-mulk was approaching, and arrived at the capital on Thursday the eleventh of Rebi-us-sani, and had the honour to pay his respects on the fifth of Jumad-el-awla, of the same year, it being a Sunday, a little before the sun's declining from the meridian. He was on that occasion raised to the office of vezir, and received, according to custom, the investiture of that high dignity, by being presented with a dress of four pieces,* and the imperial signet was placed in his hands. On the next Sunday, being the third of the month of Jumad-es-sani of the same year, the *nowruz*, or new-year's day occurred, and was celebrated at court with the usual ceremonies, on which occasion the emperor assumed the title of Abul-Fetah Nasir-ed-din. In the same year, the office of body-physician was entrusted to Raja

11 Rebi-us-sani, A.H. 1134. 18 January, A.D. 1722.

5 Jumad-el-awla, A.H. 1134. 13 February, A.D. 1722.

Jumad-es-sani, A.H. 1134. 21 March, A.D. 1722.

* On presenting dresses of honour, the dignity is measured by the number of pieces of cloth. A dress of four pieces embraces a turban, brocade for an upper garment, silk or linen for trowsers, and a pair of shawls, one for the girdle and one for a mantle.

Gujer-mal, and a few days after that of commissary-general of musters was bestowed on Shah Saad-ullah. Meanwhile Nizam-ul-mulk, who was a man of much gravity, of a reserved behaviour, and fond of power, undertook to bring about a reform in some of the most important branches of public affairs, and then to pass to other matters of a more private nature. He recommended the young emperor himself to assume in public an air of more gravity and seriousness; to put aside all levity; to suit his behaviour to his situation; to restrain his servants within proper bounds; to divide his time into stated hours for business in every department, and to appoint a time for rendering justice in person, (the most important duty of all princes, and without which they cannot expect to satisfy heaven,) in one word, to discharge worthily the duties incumbent on a great sovereign. To all these admonitions the emperor listened with patience, but they were not relished. That prince was yet in the prime of youth, and in the pride of dominion, and his disposition wholly bent on a life of pleasure. Nor were these representations more acceptable to most of the grandees, especially to Khan Dowran, who could not bear to see such a man as Nizam-ul-mulk taking the lead at court. The vezir, therefore, was looked upon with an evil eye, and subjected to peevish

expressions. One day Heider Kuly-khan, instigated by the courtiers and the principal eunuchs, went so far as to forget himself in the presence of the minister. Heider Kuly-khan was a man of undoubted courage and fond of power, had amassed large sums of money during his government of Guzerat, especially by the confiscation of part of the estate of one Abd-ul-ghafur, an eminent Bohra merchant, whose wealth was matter of notoriety all over the world, so that his riches were reckoned by crores. Possessed of this wealth, Heider Kuly-khan became so proud, and so ambitious, as to entertain thoughts of raising himself as high as the late Hussein Ali-khan; a project which, he thought, might be effected by destroying Nizam-ul-mulk. This plot was encouraged and supported both by the emperor and by many of the courtiers; who while they wished to get rid of Nizam-ul-mulk, through the agency of Heider Kuly-khan, were likewise desirous of removing the latter out of his government of Guzerat, and of putting an end to his intended expedition, an object which they hoped to attain at all events, by setting him at variance with a man of so much importance as Nizam-ul-mulk.

In the next year, which was the 1135th of the Hegira, an event happened in the emperor's family which afflicted his mind. On Tuesday the first of A. H. 1135. A.D. 1722-23.

1 Muharrem, A.H. 1135. 30 September, A.D. 1722. 15 Muharrem, A.H. 1135. 15 October, A.D. 1722.

Muharrem, at about day-break, Maleka-zemany, the reigning empress, had a miscarriage. On the fifteenth of the same month, Nizam-ul-mulk received a dress of investiture for the government of Guzerat on the secession of Heider Kuly-khan; and

2 Sefer, A.H. 1135. 2 October, A.D. 1722.

on Thursday, being the second of Sefer of the same year, a little after noon, that minister marched to the south.

Burhan-el-mulk, entitled Saadet-khan, besides the government of Acberabad, which he had long enjoyed, had that of Oude also conferred upon him, although the latter was then in the hands of Raja Giri-dhar Bahadur, who was removed to the government of Malwa. Saadet-khan, desirous of revisiting his former governments, left as his deputy at Acberabad one Ray Nilkant-nagur, a man of ability. This deputy had a difference with a neighbouring zemindar, and having gone out one day upon his elephant to take an airing, was shot dead by a person of the tribe of Jatt, who had been instigated to the act by the zemindar. He effected his purpose in the following manner. Having taken his seat in a lofty tree, he levelled his piece leisurely at Ray Nilkant in the middle of his numerous retinue; and having accomplished his end, found means to effect his escape. Saadet-khan, informed of this circumstance, resolved to defer his revenge until he had taken possession of those two provinces

and established his government. Meanwhile Khan Dowran, availing himself of a favourable opportunity, procured Acberabad for Raja Ajit-sing Sevai; so that there remained nothing to Saadet-khan but his new government of Oude.

Ajit-sing, on being appointed, received orders to march against Churamon Jatt, a powerful zemindar of the province. He accordingly besieged his fortress of Tun, and resolved to expel him out of his zemindary. To this end he gained over Buden-sing, nephew of Churamon Jatt, who laid close siege to the fortress; so that Mohcam-sing, son of Churamon, took the liberty in full derbar to reproach his father with the miseries endured by the besieged. He likewise so far forgot the respect due to a father, as to make use of violent and improper expressions towards him. The father, out of his tenderness for an only son, forbore to chastise him as he deserved; but, giving way to his feelings, he, with the carelessness of life inherent in the Hindu character, took poison and died. The young man, incapable of managing his possessions, and overcome by Ajit-sing's superior power and genius, was prevailed on to give in. Upon this the latter raja appointed Buden-sing to govern the zemindary, and procured the appointment to be confirmed at court. He now recommended Buden-sing to recall his dispersed subjects, and to

restore the country to its former flourishing condition. Buden-sing, armed with so much support, found means to gain over most of Mohcam-sing's dependants; and the latter, not thinking himself secure, fled from the fortress, which was immediately taken possession of by Buden-sing, who now took up his residence there. About this time, Raja Giri-dhar Bahadur, having proceeded to Malwa, soon put that province into excellent order.

Nizam-ul-mulk now proceeded to take possession of his new government of Guzerat; and he actually marched thither with a good army and a train of artillery. In order to facilitate matters, he contrived to debauch some of the troops of Heider Kuly-khan, whose army consisted chiefly of Turany Moguls, and of Peny, Ghazny, and Bany Afghans. Nizam-ul-mulk, having himself a number of officers and whole bodies of those same tribes in his army, selected some of the most intelligent amongst them to send under various pretences into Heider Kuly-khan's camp, where they gained over to his interest most of those who were of the same nation. In consequence of this, several commanders of note, such as Shujaat-khan and Mehr Ali-khan, Guzeraties, with Selabet-khan, and Zeber-dest-khan, Banies, Assed-khan Ghaznevy, and many other commanders, both Irany and Turany, quitted Heider Kuly-khan's camp, and dispersed.

This general, thunderstruck by so general a defection, fell into a melancholy that preyed on his frame and disordered his mind. At length he, with a number of friends that followed his fortunes, took the road to the capital. Nizam-ul-mulk being thus left in quiet possession of the field, marched to the capital of Guzerat, and took possession of it as well as of the whole country. After having firmly established his authority, he committed it to the care of Hamid-khan, his maternal uncle, who went by the name of the Prince Jungly; and himself departing soon after, marched southward to revisit his governments of the Deckan, and proceeded to his head-quarters at Aurengabad. Meanwhile Heider Kuly-khan, with what friends and treasures he had in his camp, returned to the capital, and remained for some days unnoticed.

About this time the new year's day was celebrated with the usual solemnities on the Sunday, the thirteenth of Jumad-es-sani, of the year 1135, and on the night of Saturday the eleventh Rejeb of the same year, the emperor's favourite mistress, Roshen-abady, presented to him a daughter, who was called Jehan-afroze Banu Begum. After some days, Heider Kuly-khan having presented himself at court, was received with much kindness by the emperor, who appointed him to the government of Ajmere; his intention being to chastise the Raja

13 Jumad-es-sani, A.H. 1135.
21 March, A.D. 1723.
11 Rejeb, A.H. 1135.
18 May, A.D. 1723.

Ajit-sing, against whom Heider Kuly-khan bore a mortal enmity. The latter accepted the office with alacrity, and prepared an army sufficient to cope with the Hindu prince; but he declined the con-
Shaban, A.H. 1135. June, A.D. 1723. test and fled. It was the end of the month of Shaban in the same year, that the son of Siddy Kassem Cutwal was stabbed by one of the Surkh-posh* guards, who was himself wounded by the other's sabre. This circumstance happened close
1 Sheval, A.H. 1135. 4 July, A.D. 1723. to the Cutwal's tribunal.† In this year, on Sunday the first of Sheval, Nizam-ul-mulk, who was returned from Guzerat and Malwa, paid his respects
24 Zilcad, A.H. 1135. 24 August, A.D. 1723. to the emperor; and on Thursday the twenty-fourth of Zilcad, about an astronomical hour before day-break, a son was born to the emperor. In the
14 Muharrem, A.H. 1136. 11 October, A.D. 1723. year 1136 of the Hegira, in the middle of the month of Muharrem, a comet made its appearance in the heavens, in the sign of Aquarius, and remained visible for ten or twelve days, after which it disappeared; when, at the end of that month, the emperor's eldest son departed this life.

This year a number of promotions took place in the principal departments of the court. Kamer-ed-din-khan, son of Mahomed Amin-khan, vezir, was appointed deputy paymaster-general and

* Surkh-posh guards were household troops, clothed in scarlet.

† The cutwal is the chief magistrate of the city: the tribunal is the town-hall, or mansion-house of the Lord Mayor, as in London.

superintendant of the bathing-apartments; Khan Dowran was made commander-in-chief, with the additional command of the body guards called Wala-shahies and Ala-shahies; Zafer-khan was appointed third in command of the troops, and Selabet-khan fourth in command. The stewardship of the household was given to Shir-efken-khan; and after him his brother Lutf-ullah-khan was nominated commander of the body-guards called Sultany. Amir Jumlah Tarkhan was made Sadr-el-sudur, or grand-almoner. The superintendance of the sanctuary, or sacred apartment of the ladies, together with the care of the privy-purse, was committed to Hafiz-khidmetgar-khan, an eunuch of Aurengzib's time; but on his demise, both those offices passed to Roz-afzun-khan. Raja Gujermal was appointed to the khalisa, or exchequer-office; which after him passed to Eradetmend-khan, and after him to Raja Bakht-mal. Shah Saadullah was appointed commissary-general of musters, and Heider Kuly-khan mir-atesh, or master-general of the ordnance.

After him, Saad-ed-din-khan succeeded; and again Heider Kuly-khan was re-appointed, from whom that office passed to Muzafer-khan, brother of Khan Dowran. The command of the personal guards, called khawass, was given to Saadet-khan, with orders to take Ahmed Kuly-khan as his deputy.

Amin-ed-doulah was made first mir-tozek, and Daver-dad-khan second mir-tozek; Mubariz-khan, superintendant of the entrance-chamber, and after him, Akgar-khan succeeded to that office. Mir Hussein-khan Koka was made commandant of the pike-men of the presence.

The office of arzbegy* was bestowed on Ali Mahomed-khan Koka, as was the inspection of canals on Feiz Ali Hamid-khan. Bu-Ali-khan Yuzbegy was appointed superintendant of the imperial tent-department, as was Munaver-khan of the body of troops called Ahedies.

The office of superintendant of messengers was bestowed on Inaiet-khan, son of Sadik-khan Kurawly. The charge of the purse for largesses was entrusted to Behroze-khan, and of the privy purse to Javid-khan, both favourite eunuchs. The jewel-office was bestowed on Jewahir-khan; the kitchen department on Bukhtaver-khan, as was the coffee department on Vejih-khan, and the elephant department to Fazl Ali-khan. Seid Kutb-ed-din Ali-khan was made superintendant of the light artillery. Yasin-khan was appointed to the command of the Surkh-posh guards, and of the kulars.† Allah-yar-khan was made governor of the citadel of Shah Jehan-abad, and Kaïm-khan, son of Zafer-

* The arzbegy is the gentleman-usher of European courts.

† Purchased and adopted slaves about the imperial person.

khan, inspector of the post and the gazette office; as was Maasum Ali-khan of the intelligence department. In this manner were the offices disposed of. Zafer-khan availed himself of the emperor's favour to make money, being ever ready to undertake the cause of every petitioner for a consideration. This was also the practice of a few of the female favourites which the emperor now brought forward. A certain girl, named Cowky, daughter of Shah-jan Mahomed, a dervish, found means to ingratiate herself so deeply into the emperor's good graces, that she was entrusted with the private signet, was suffered to sign "by order" the imperial answers to the petitions which she carried within the seraglio; of which circumstance she availed herself to make her fortune.

The emperor, who was a youth of little energy, thought only of pleasure, so that whenever an emergency did happen that called for vigour, he passed it over from sheer indolence, satisfied with the company of such men as Umdet-el-mulk, Amir-khan, and some other young nobles of a lively temper and disposed to good fellowship. Hence, by degrees, the respect and awe which the imperial name used to impose, subsided, and many men entertained thought of shaking off their dependence. On the other hand, Nizam-ul-mulk wished to wean the king from such company, and espe-

cially to wrest from Cowky, and the lords of her party, that influence which they enjoyed. Such a measure could not prove acceptable either to the emperor or to his favourites. Nizam-ul-mulk's austerity was by no means approved of at court, so far from it, his person and manners were the subject of ridicule as soon as he was out of sight, and never failed in his absence of becoming the topic of the most pointed raillery. Nizam-ul-mulk informed of this, conceived a disgust to the whole court, and full of indignation, resolved to withdraw himself by repairing to his goverments of Guzerat and Deckan, where he bore absolute sway. He therefore feigned sickness, abstained from going to court, and remained at home, but at the same time resolved upon revenging himself by exciting troubles and raising commotions, which he knew would render his presence necessary in the south. He wished to resign the vezirship, but being a man of much prudence, he delayed for some time to intimate his intentions. Meanwhile his views becoming known to the emperor, it was agreed to humour him by accepting his resignation, and permitting him to live as far from court as he wished, provided he remained quiet. The vezir himself, informed of the king's wishes, resigned; messages and notes were interchanged; an appearance of goodwill and sincerity was main-

tained by both, and on the second of Sefer in the year 1136, Nizam-ul-mulk was honoured with the office of vakil-i-mutlak or lieutenant of the emperor; at the same time also he received the new title of Asef-jah, and met with every demonstration of favour. 2 Sefer, A.H. 1136. 21 October, A.D. 1723.

The viceroy after this compromise asked leave to go on a hunting excursion, instead of which he marched towards the Deckan, an extensive domain, where he reigned like a monarch to all intents and purposes. It was already the seventh month after his departure, when the emperor, without encroaching in appearance on the two high offices which the viceroy enjoyed, bestowed on Kamer-ed-din-khan the title of Jumlet-el-mulk, implying a general superintendence over the several territorial divisions of the empire, and that nobleman, in receiving the appointment to that high office, promised to respect Nizam-ul-mulk's dignity.

But all this was mere matter of form; for as soon as he departed, the ministers at court, sensible of the discontent of Nizam-ul-mulk, resolved to be before-hand with him, and despatched, in the greatest secrecy, a letter written in the emperor's own hand to Mubariz-khan, nazim or military governor of Boorhanpoor, which gave him instructions to fight and kill Nizam-ul-mulk by

any means in his power; giving him to understand, at the same time, that the commission of the viceroyalty of the Deckan would be his reward. Mubariz-khan thus supported, and being naturally ambitious, resolved to attack Nizam-ul-mulk. He discovered his project to Ibrahim-khan-Peny, the brother of the late Daud-khan-Peny, and to the relatives of Sheikh-Nizam and Sheikh-Minhaj, whose families were of great power and influence in the Deckan, and which cherished in their bosoms a rooted enmity against Nizam-ul-mulk, and his tribe. These chiefs having united with Mubariz-khan, enabled him to raise an army well appointed, and capable of appearing in the field against so formidable an enemy. Nizam-ul-mulk, informed of his intention, hastened to the encounter, and the two armies engaged on Thurs-
24 Muharrem, A.H. 1137. day the 24th of the month of Muharrem, in the
2 October, A.D. 1724. year 1137 of the Hegira, when a bloody engagement ensued, in which Mubariz-khan lost four thousand brave men, together with four elephants, which were left on the field of battle. Victory thus declared for Nizam-ul-mulk, and Mubariz-khan, with his two sons, and his best friends, were among the slain. Nizam-ul-mulk, after this victory, sent a despatch to the emperor, containing an account of the battle, with the number of those killed on the part of Mubariz-khan, to which he

added his congratulations, and presented a number of eshrefies as an offering usual on such occasions, without neglecting to send even the property seized in the enemy's camp.

Hitherto the dissentions between the court and Nizam-ul-mulk, although well known, and apparent, had been concealed, or were conveyed under the mask of dissimulation; but after the defeat of Mubariz-khan the veil was a little withdrawn, and the emperor sent for Heider Kuly-khan, whom he knew to be a man of talent and courage, and one heartily attached to his person. That nobleman, on this invitation, quitting Ajmere, repaired to the capital, where he had the honour of paying his respects to the emperor, on Friday the fourteenth of Rebi-es-sani, at about two astronomical hours after sunrise. He now assumed charge of the office of Mir-atesh (master-general of ordnance), to which was added the honour of a suit of his imperial majesty's own robes. At the same time, the person who then filled that important office, Saad-ed-din-khan, a Turany of Nizam-ul-mulk's recommendation, was superseded. The viceroy, when he became apprized of this circumstance, trusting to his power, wrote to Hamid-khan, his maternal uncle, governor of Guzerat, to commence hostilities, in combination with Sillaji and Kantaji, two Mahratta commanders, whom he

14 Rebi-es-sani, A.H. 1137.
14 December, A.D. 1724.

employed to make incursions into the imperial territories. Hamid-khan on this intimation raised the standard of defiance, and seizing on all the jaghirs or estates belonging to the several nobles now at court, expelled their stewards. The ministers, informed of this occurrence, held councils amongst themselves, which ended in nothing, and in fixing on no plan whatsoever. The emperor, sensible that the Turanies had grown too powerful, resolved to oppose to them the late vezir Seid Abdullah-khan, his prisoner, in order to curb their overgrown influence. He accordingly sent a trusty person to inform him that the times were now such, that even he might be of some use. Abdullah-khan answered, that if his majesty should please to extend to him his clemency and forgiveness, he trusted that he should be able to assemble a good body of five or six thousand veterans, with which his majesty's ministers might put his zeal to the test, by employing him upon any service they should think fit. This answer was no sooner reported to the emperor, than the enemies of Abdullah-khan's family, becoming fearful of the consequences of his enlargement, found means to convey a dose of poison to that much injured Seid, and sent him to join the manes of his illustrious ancestors.

We have before seen that Serbelend-khan was

dismissed from his government of Cabul, and Nasir-khan promoted to that important office, through Zafir-khan's influence.

The ex-governor was now living retired at the capital, and but seldom appeared at court. On Abdullah-khan's death, the ministers resolved to avail themselves of Serbelend-khan's abilities and character; and one Hafiz Khidmetgar-khan, a eunuch upon whose attachment and fidelity the emperor reposed entire confidence, was engaged to effect a reconciliation. The king now resolved to send Serbelend-khan against Hamid-khan, and to confer upon him the government of Guzerat. The general, fully satisfied of the military genius of Nejm-ed-din Ali-khan, brother of the late Seid Abdullah-khan, entreated his majesty for his liberty, and requested to be permitted to avail himself of his services. This boon was granted with the better grace by the emperor, as he hâd always felt well-disposed towards Nejm-ed-din Ali-khan, because he was the first person sent to bring him away from the castle of Selimgur at Dehli, and to conduct him to Acberabad. Nejm-ed-din Ali-khan was accordingly released from confinement, and admitted to the honour of paying his respects to the emperor, who presented him with a robe and a sabre and the title of Bahadur. Serbelend-khan, who was present at the ceremony,

having received leave to proceed on his expedition, took Nejm-ed-din Ali-khan from the derbar upon his own elephant, and they arrived together at the camp, which had been pitched outside of the city. There Nejm-ed-din Ali-khan soon assembled a body of Seids of Barha attached to his family, and a body of cavalry that had before served under him; so that he soon found himself at the head of a respectable force. Serbelend-khan also, who had commanded in most of the provinces of the empire, was known to be a man of great character and a friend to the army, so that numbers of officers, who even in their retreats had never ceased to be attached to his person, and who wished for the moment of his prosperity, hearing of his promotion, quitted their homes, and with what establishments they could collect, flocked to his standard from all parts. Serbelend-khan, instead of advancing at once, appointed Shujaat-khan Guzeraty his lieutenant in the province till his arrival. Hamid-khan, having no power to resist his authority in the province, left Guzerat, and encamped at Dohud, whence he made overtures to Kantaji Mahratta to come to his assistance. With this reinforcement, and with the addition of some troops he himself raised at the moment, Hamid-khan returned towards Guzerat. Shujaat-khan moved also to oppose him, and having given him battle,

he lost his life. Rustem Ali-khan, the brother of Shujaat-khan, then governor of Surat, on hearing of the death of the latter, made preparations for war; and having induced Pilaji Gaykwar, who was at that time plundering in the neighbourhood, to afford him aid, he marched from Surat.

Hamid-khan with his own army, and assisted by Kantaji with nearly twenty thousand cavalry, left Ahmedabad and fought an action on the banks of the Myhee river. Pilaji Gaykwar, though enlisted on the side of Rustem Ali-khan, was gained over by Kantaji to the cause of Hamid-khan; so that Rustem Ali-khan also, owing to the treachery of that Mahratta, lost his life, and Hamid-khan obtained a victory. On hearing of these events, Serbelend-khan, who was manœuvring between the roads of Ajmere and Acberabad, was in fact waiting with Nejm-ed-din Ali-khan for the realization of the promise of the vizarat. Having lost all patience, he demanded to know the emperor's real intentions. The star of the good fortune of the Turanies was at this time ascending to its zenith; and, finding he could not at present succeed at the capital in his wishes, Serbelend-khan proceeded towards Guzerat. Raja Giri-dhar was appointed governor of Malwa in lieu of Nizam-ul-mulk, and went to assume charge of the province; while Nejm-ed-din Ali-khan, being taken

ill, remained a short time at the capital, but was eventually nominated to the government of Ajmere, and his services placed at the disposal of Serbelend-khan. The emperor, disgusted with the spirit of intrigue and dissatisfaction which Nizam-ul-mulk had excited amongst the Turanies, entertained suspicions against their whole body; and his aversion increased to such a degree that he resolved to dispossess them of all influence. Kamer-ed-din-khan was the nobleman who first felt his displeasure. The emperor suddenly took from him his government and some offices which he had distributed to others; at the same time Saadet-khan, a Persian noble, received leave to repair to his government of Oude, where he employed himself in bringing that country into subordination and order. Serbelend-khan, who had tarried a little longer than he intended, until his colleague (reduced in strength by his long illness) should have so far recruited his strength as to appear in the field, now marched against the revolted chief of Guzerat, and formed a junction with Nejm-ed-din Ali-khan on the march. Hamid-khan, who disregarded the communications of Serbelend-khan, secured the aid of Kantaji and Pilaji, the two Mahratta chiefs above-mentioned, who pledged themselves to follow his fortunes, and they joined his army, commanded by his general Aman-beg.

These combined troops were encountered by Serbelend-khan at Dohud, where they sustained a signal defeat, in which Aman-beg remained amongst the slain.

After this battle, Sheikh-alhayar-khan, of Belgram, a general serving under Serbelend-khan, was detached from the imperial army, and entered the city of Ahmedabad by one gate, and took possession of it, whilst Hamid-khan made his escape out of another, and fled to the Deckan, where he joined Nizam-ul-mulk. This viceroy, little discouraged by such a check, employed four other Mahratta generals to aid Hamid-khan, and to make an incursion into Guzerat. This invasion led to several bloody engagements, in which the Mahrattas were constantly defeated by Nejm-ed-din Ali-khan, who every where exhibited proofs of that valour which was hereditary in his family, and which he derived from his glorious and holy ancestors. From skirmishes both parties at length came to a general engagement, in which Nejm-ed-din Ali-khan, with an army of sixty thousand horse and a body of infantry composed of Arabs and other races, supported by a park of artillery of some hundred pieces of cannon large and small, attacked the Mahrattas and gave them a complete defeat, pursuing them for a long distance, and not giving over the pursuit until he had driven them

beyond the river Nerbedda. This great victory was obtained on the plain of Cambay, where the Mahrattas left a vast number of dead on the field of battle; it had been preceded by an irruption which they had made into the districts of Dehnagar and Bilnagar, towns held by Kamer-ed-din-khan in jaghir, and they were actually occupied in sacking and plundering them when they were suddenly attacked by Nejm-ed-din Ali-khan and by Khana-zad-khan, son of Serbelend-khan. The Mahrattas after this defeat totally evacuated Guzerat. It must be observed, that as the victorious army was numerous, it received monthly a regular supply of five lacs of rupees from the capital, which sum was forwarded through Nazir-khan, and after his death through Roshen-ed-doulah, in order to enable Serbelend-khan to conduct his operations without levying contributions on the country; and it was determined to continue the same practice until Guzerat should be so far subdued as to afford a sufficient revenue to support the army. On the news of the great victory which had been obtained, the supply of cash was stopped by the advice of Khan Dowran, and an order was sent to dismiss the extra troops; for such was the dread which the imperial general had diffused, that the refractory chiefs throughout those countries looked up to him with respect.

It has been already shewn that Zafer-khan was the person who had the greatest influence over the emperor's mind; but though it must be acknowledged that this nobleman had many good qualities, yet he was addicted to the love of money, and was not only open to bribery, but capable of peculations. In proof of which it now appeared, that of the twelve lacs it was his duty to transmit annually to Cabul for the payment of the garrisons of that province, half had been retained for his own use, and the same corruption prevailed in all the affairs that passed through his hands. In order to support his power, he ought to have kept upon the best terms with every one of the ministers of state; but his conduct was quite otherwise, so that his malpractices were represented to the emperor in such terms, that the affair ended in his disgrace. He first received a severe rebuke in public, and his accounts being submitted to a committee, they found a balance of full two crores of rupees against him, which he was obliged to replace in the public treasury, and was moreover disgraced. The duty of providing for the government of Cabul was now committed to Khan Dowran, whose integrity was undoubted. A similar charge of corruption and bribery was proved against one Shah Abd-ul-ghafur, a fakir of the Turany party, who had acquired such ascendancy over the emperor's mind as in-

duced him to appoint and to dismiss whomsoever he thought fit of the officers of the khalisah office. At length growing proud, he was guilty of many shameful abuses, which now came to the emperor's knowledge: he was therefore publicly disgraced, cast into prison, and banished to Bengal. Two crores of rupees having been found in his house, besides a quantity of other effects, the whole was confiscated and sent to the public treasury. Cowky herself even, who had been entrusted with the imperial signet within the seraglio, and who had assumed so much authority as to recommend to offices, having been found to be the associate and accomplice of those two personages, was also dismissed with ignominy, forbidden to enter the seraglio, and obliged to disgorge her ill-gotten wealth.

After these instances of misconduct and examples of punishment, it might be supposed that the great power and influence which Khan Dowran had acquired, would render him at least more cautious; instead of which he indulged only his hatred against the disgraced minister Zafer-khan, and was hardly fixed in office, when he hastened to supersede Serbelend-khan. That great friend of the disgraced minister Raja Abi-sing Rahtore was nominated to succeed him in Guzerat, whither he had orders to repair with the utmost

expedition, while Serbelend-khan was called to court. Abi-sing, fond of repose, and satisfied with his hereditary dominions, sent a deputy to take possession of the new government; but he having been repulsed with disgrace by Serbelend-khan, who refused to recognize him, another deputy was sent with a large force, who also met a similar fate; at last Abi-sing marched himself at the head of an army of fifty thousand men, mostly cavalry, and a good park of artillery, with which he entered Guzerat. Serbelend-khan, although uneasy at the intrigues in the capital, and fearful of the power of Nizam-ul-mulk, resolved, with that inconsiderable, ill-paid, and ill-furnished force which was left to him, to encounter his enemy. He marched out of the city of Ahmedabad, and encamped at some distance from it; putting himself at the head of his little army, and of a certain number of friends and old soldiers, on whom he could rely. He attacked Abi-sing with so much conduct and bravery, that the raja thought proper to quit the field of battle and retire; but Serbelend-khan, who saw himself exposed on the one hand to the machinations of his enemies at court, and on the other to the power and intrigues of Nizam-ul-mulk, remained satisfied with Abi-sing's retreat, and resolved to come to terms with him. Accordingly in the evening of the day of the

battle, he put on a plain white dress, without his armour, and rolling a white turban round his head, he with no other retinue than a few chopdars, or mace-bearers, and private servants, advanced to visit the Hindu prince. Abi-sing, though at first extremely surprised, thought himself highly honoured by such condescension. He rose at his approach, advanced to the door of his tent to meet him, and after the usual embrace, he took the veteran by the hand, made him sit on his own mesned, and shewed him every mark of respect. Serbelend-khan, after some conversation, turned towards the Hindu prince, and spoke to him in these words: "Young man," said he, "you will be surprised when I inform you that there ought to subsist much friendship between us, for there was a time when your father and I exchanged turbans as brothers,* and I therefore look upon you as my nephew. The trifling contest that has passed between us was to defend my honour, and to maintain my character as a soldier; but there must not be the least enmity between you and me in future; nor did I see why, being an hereditary friend of your family, I should abstain from paying you this visit. The imperial service is the point in question—it is on that very service I came

* The exchange of turbans is frequently practised as a token of sworn fraternity.

into this country; but this being now committed to your care, you are welcome to it, and I wish you may bring the government into proper order. I have myself no further business here. I come only to request of you a travelling equipage, and some money to defray my expense to the capital."

This speech, which was delivered with all the frankness of an old soldier, astonished the bystanders, and the Hindu prince more than any. It was true he had his enemy in his power; but struck with the general's high bearing and character, and with the connection of his father, he thought his honour concerned in fulfilling his wishes, and sending for his steward, he ordered him to comply with whatever directions Serbelend-khan should give him. Towards the end of the visit, the general having again mentioned the former friendship that subsisted between him and the Hindu prince's father, proposed to renew the same ties, on which he took his own plain turban off and put it upon Abi-sing's head, then raising up the latter's turban, which was enriched with a variety of gems of value, he put it upon his own, after which they embraced each other, in token of fraternity, and he departed to his own camp, where a sum of money and his equipage arriving soon after, he quitted the country, and

proceeded on his journey towards the capital. All this conduct gave much umbrage at court, and so far exasperated the emperor against him, that an order was sent to the guards on the highways to stop him wherever he should make his appearance, with injunctions to hinder his advancing one step farther, until he had obtained a pardon for his misbehaviour. Moreover, two parties of one hundred of the guards were sent, one-half on the road to Ajmere, and the other towards Acberabad, to detain him. The general having arrived near the last city, was stopped and forbidden to advance. Serbelend-khan being thus obliged to tarry for several days at that city, in order to assuage the emperor's displeasure, and to obtain leave to proceed to court, was beset by the disbanded troops that accompanied him, who mutinied, rose upon him, and fiercely demanded their arrears. Luckily for him Saadet-khan, who was then in that city, and remembered to have served under Serbelend-khan, and to have been promoted by him, offered to assist his old commander, and sent him a message, importing that if he were pleased to refer the mutineers to him, he would undertake to satisfy their claims. This generous offer, instead of soothing the general's pride, served only to wound it; he politely declined his offer, and answered that, thanks to Providence, matters

had not yet come to such a pass as that he should prove burthensome to his friends. After this reply he went into the apartment of his ladies, and taking some gold which he had with him, he discharged the arrears due to the troops, and the tumult subsided.

The insults which had been offered to so distinguished an officer as Serbelend-khan, and the ungrateful as well as the impolitic conduct of the ministers, put Nizam-ul-mulk upon his guard. He accordingly took advantage of the circumstance by engaging the Mahrattas to invade Hindustan. He applied to Bajy Rao, the principal officer of the court of Sahu Raja, a prince of high character, who derived his origin from the Rajas Sambha and Siva, the founders of the Mahratta empire. Nizam-ul-mulk proposed to Bajy Rao to conquer Malwa from the hands of Raja Giri-dhar the present governor, and to recover Guzerat out of the hands of Raja Abi-sing Rahtore, or at least to ruin and lay waste those two countries so as to render them of no use to his enemies. Nothing could be more welcome at all times to the Mahrattas than such proposals. Bajy Rao and the other Mahratta chiefs assembled a mighty army, with which they invaded both Malwa and Guzerat at one and the same time. In the latter province they gained several advantages over Abi-sing's lieutenants, and

plundered to a great extent, but this was not the case in Malwa. Raja Giri-dhar, who commanded in that country with a small body of troops, would not suffer his country to be ravaged; and being an officer of character, he engaged Bajy Rao several times, after having in vain requested assistance from the capital. His repeated representations to the throne and to the ministers availed nothing, and that brave man, having wasted his small force in endless skirmishes, at last fell himself in one of them. He was succeeded in his command by Raja Dia Bahadur, a relative, and son of the brave Chebilram, who, pursuing Giri-dhar's plans, did not cease to harass the Mahrattas, giving them no rest, and taking none himself. He moreover wrote to the minister that, so long as he lived, he would prove a wall in the passage of the enemy towards Hindustan, but that after his death he apprehended that they would spread like an inundation all over the empire. None of these representations produced any effect, and that brave man was also slain in defending the country. The minister, little affected by the death of Raja Dia Bahadur, appointed Mahomed-khan Bangash to succeed him with full powers. He advanced as far as Oojein, but as the country was ravaged in all directions by the Mahrattas, he could not occupy it, and the ministers, dissatisfied with his conduct,

conferred the government on Raja Jye-sing Sevai. This was the act of Khan Dowran. The new governor, who felt well inclined towards the Mahrattas from a principle of religion, proved lukewarm in his measures against them.

Three years after this the court thought proper to confer the government of that country on Bajy Rao himself; so that in this manner Malwa passed under the Mahratta dominion. Nor did Guzerat meet with a better fate. The Mahrattas, availing themselves of Abi-sing's incapacity and neglect, made themselves masters of the whole country, which served only to exhibit in glaring colours the incapacity of the minister, and the weakness of his administration. To remedy such disorders it required a strong mind full of zeal and activity, and fertile in expedients; but these qualities could not be expected from men destitute of personal courage, and lost to all sense of character. Indeed, "what figure can the fox make in the lion's den; or what can be expected from a wooden sword opposed to a keen steel blade?" Khan Dowran, fancying that the evils that were undermining Hindustan could be removed by a temporising policy, and that lost countries could be recovered by mere diplomacy and cunning, expected to bring every thing back into order by negociations. He even had the folly to imagine that such powerful ene-

mies as Nizam-ul-mulk and the Mahrattas might be reduced by satirical letters, and overawed by ironical dispatches. Such a state of things, however, required quite a different man from Khan Dowran. In order to check the growth of the towering tree of insubordination and independence, which was daily shooting forth luxuriantly new and wild branches, the sinewy arm of some active valorous prince was required, who after having felled it with repeated blows of his battle-axe, should have sagacity enough to dig it out by the roots. The necessities of the state wanted the exertions of such ministers as Zulficar-khan and Hussein Ali-khan, two men who would have bent the necks of the refractory, and strangled them ere they had gained strength. The Mahrattas, now established in their conquests of Malwa and Guzerat, extended their views, and encouraged by the supineness of the administration, advanced by degrees to the frontiers of the provinces of Acberabad and Ilahabad, till they encroached on the imperial territory of Dehli. Mahomed-khan Bangash, styled Ghazenfer Jung (the lion in war) governor of Ilahabad, assembled an army from his own clan, bringing the Rohilla Afghans and a train of artillery from his fortress; and with these troops he entered the province of Bundelcund, a dependency of Ilahabad, with intention to make a

conquest of it, and to expel the Rajas Chetersal and Naga, the most powerful princes of that region. Advancing into the very heart of the country, he made himself master of all its strongholds; and having seized on the capital, he resolved to remain there during the rainy season, in order to accustom his new subjects to his rule. The dispossessed rajas with the other princes of that vicinity, sensible of the weakness of the Mussulman empire, turned their views towards the Mahrattas of Nagpoor, and also applied to the generals left by Bajy Rao at Oojein, the capital of Malwa, promising them a sum of money and a portion of their territory. These rajas having obtained the aid of an army of Mahrattas, returned to Bundelcund, where Mahomed-khan Bangash thought himself so secure that he had dismissed the greatest part of his Afghans to their homes, retaining only a small body about his person. He had too little local information to be acquainted with all its passes, so that the native princes found means to come upon him before he had any intimation of their approach. He had hardly time to mount his horse, and to put himself at the head of the little force he had left, and being soon overpowered by numbers, was obliged to quit the field; and after wandering two or three days, he had just time to throw himself into Jitgur with his troops and followers, wherein

he was immediately besieged. A great multitude of people of both sexes and of all ages had taken shelter in this place; a scarcity of provisions was soon experienced, which ended in a famine: cows, horses, and asses became food to the garrison, and a dead beast attracted a thousand eyes. Nor was it possible to receive any supply from without, or to get out of the fortress. Such a state of distress did not long remain concealed from Mahomed-khan's family. On the first news of the blockade, his wife and children, quitting Ferokh-abad, the place of their residence, repaired to the capital; where, with tears, they implored the minister's assistance and the emperor's attention. No notice was taken of them; and this forlorn family applied in despair, as a last resource, to their own tribe, the Afghans of Rohilcand. Mahomed-khan's lady sent her veil round amongst their principal men, and Kaim-khan, her eldest son, addressed them himself. Such a spectacle produced a great effect: the Afghans, touched with the deep distress of their chief's family, resolved to make an effort in its behalf, and to save their countrymen from impending destruction. Having accepted the little money and jewels which the mother and son could afford to distribute amongst them, they assembled in numbers, and appointed the young man himself to lead them to action as

their general. Incessant marches soon brought them to Jitgur. They no sooner arrived than they attacked the besiegers, and forcing their way to the gate of the fortress, they saved Mahomed-khan Bangash and their countrymen, and carried them safe to Ilahabad; an action by which this worthy son immortalized himself in saving his father's life. The ministers, however, punished Mahomed-khan Bangash for having engaged in the expedition at all, by depriving him of his government of Ilahabad, which was transferred to Serbelend-khan, who was again taken into favour. Although he accepted the office, Serbelend-khan sent thither his son Khana-zad-khan as his deputy, and he remained in the capital, without appearing much at court, but confining himself chiefly to his own house.

A strange accident closed the end of this year. The kava-khana* of Heider Kuly-khan took fire, owing to which he was burned to death. The beginning of the next year was no less remarkable in singular events. On Wednesday the eighteenth of the month of Jumad-es-sani, in the year 1136, two or three hours after sun-rise, Mahomed Yar-khan, nephew of Shaistah-khan, Khan-khanan, a nobleman who so early as the times of Aurengzib had enjoyed the government of the province of

18 Jumad-es-sani, A.H. 1136. 28 February, A.D. 1724.

* Coffee-room.

Dehli, died suddenly. A few days after, it being Friday, the office of Mir-ateshy, or master-general of the ordnance, vacant by Heider Kuly-khan's demise, was conferred on Muzaffer-khan, the brother of Khan Dowran. In this same year the powder magazine, that went by the name of Burhan-el-mulk, having taken fire, blew up, and carried with it part of the Lat Firoze-shah, with the buildings adjoining; the latter were torn from their foundations and thrown to some distance. In this year also the brave Nejm-ed-din Ali-khan died, and his government of Ajmere was bestowed on Muzaffer-khan, who was already nominated to the high office of master-general of ordnance. On Wednesday the tenth of the month of Jumad-es-sani in the year 1141, the emperor felt an accession of fever and sickness, from which however he recovered. In the same year, in the month of Shaban, news came to court that the Mahrattas from Guzerat had advanced into the contiguous country of the Hindu prince, Raja Abi-sing; who finding his hereditary dominions attacked, obtained leave, and repaired with all speed to Joodpoor-merta, his capital. About the end of the same year, a body of Penjaby shoemakers and some other Mussulmans in the capital rising in a body, excited a great disturbance during the Hindu festival of the Huly, on which occasion one of the rioters, a

10 Jumad es-sani, A.H. 1141. 31 December, A.D. 1728.

Shaban, A.H. 1141. March, A.D. 1729.

man highly respected on account of his having been on pilgrimage to Mecca, happened to be killed by a Hindu jeweller. The Mussulmans, finding their complaints were unattended to, left the body for three days unpurified and unburied, and resolved not to meddle with it till they had revenged the death of their companion. The ministers, too busy with their own concerns, never thought of affording justice to those injured people. The shoemakers, incensed at such neglect, tumultuously took possession of the great mosque, and prevented divine service being performed, or any Mussulmans assembling there, until their wrongs were redressed. The kazi of the city, in attempting to pacify them, met only with insults. The tumult increasing, at last attracted the attention of the court, and Kamer-ed-din-khan, the vezir, as well as Zafer-khan, the minister, were sent to see divine service performed. They came with their own retinues and a number of other nobles, and were preparing to begin prayers, when the shoemakers commenced cursing and reproaching them for their maladministration, as well as for their odious supineness, in whatever concerned religion; and proceeding from words to blows, they fell upon the ministers, and put them to flight. Zafer-khan being closely pursued, took shelter under the bucklers of the Afghan soldiers

that accompanied him; the shoemakers, however, continued throwing their slippers at the guards and at the nobles, and again drove them away. The vezir alone stood his ground, and on his ordering some rockets to be fired, and thrown over their heads, the tumult subsided a little. The vezir, finding them reduced to some order, addressed the mob, and at length prevailed upon it to disperse. The tumult had risen to such a height, that most of the nobles were insulted; and as the people were preparing to proceed farther, some dire event might have occurred but for the vezir's presence of mind and successful eloquence. At the end of

Sheval, Zilcad, A.H. 1141. April, May, A. D. 1729.

this year, between the months of Sheval and Zilcad, there arose for forty days together such an abominable stench throughout the city of Dehli, that the poor and rich being equally affected by it, were attacked by an epidemic fever that filled the houses with sick. The shops and markets were shut up, the streets were deserted, and the city looked like a place forsaken by its inhabitants. People said that they had never before seen or heard of such a calamity. The stench and sickness commenced at Patna and Ilahabad, from whence it proceeded to Acberabad and Dehli, and continued spreading over Paniput and Serhend, until it extended to Lahore, where it stopped. Though many were affected by the sickness, the deaths were not on the whole numerous.

This strange event was followed by one more strange. The winter proved so severe this year in Shah Jehan-abad, and Old Dehli and its environs, that the water froze in vessels of copper, which burst from the pressure of the ice. Running water, and even the river was frozen. This happened for three nights together in the month of Rejeb, of the year 1143; snow also fell in several places on the plain. Rejeb, A.H. 1143. January, A.D. 1731.

On Tuesday, being the fifth of Rejeb, of the year 1145 of the Hegira, the emperor Mahomed-shah quitted the citadel of Shah-jehan-abad, with his vezir Kamer-ed-din-khan, Khan Dowran, and his whole court, and marched to Eizabad, Berhot, and Soanput, where he encamped, spending a whole month in the pleasures of hunting. Returning from thence, he alighted at the garden called Tal-Katora, where he amused himself with the beauty of the place; from thence he crossed the river Jumna, at the palace of Ferah-bakhsh, where he stayed twelve days. There, hearing that the Mahrattas had made an incursion as far as Acberabad, he resolved to march and to chastise those freebooters, and advancing two stages more, as far as the little river of Hinden, he encamped at the palace of Bhat-kehl, where he stopt seven or eight days. The freebooters having dispersed and quitted those parts on the report of his ap- 5 Rejeb, A.H. 1145. 10 December, A.D. 1732.

proach, the emperor returned by Talputt to Feridabad, and on the month of Sheval alighted at his palace in Dehli. This hunting party seemed to be only a prelude to something more serious, for on Sunday the sixteenth of Ramazan, in the year 1146 of the Hegira, about three hours and a half after sunrise, Muzaffer-khan, brother of Khan Dowran, received orders to march and chastise the Mahrattas. He was invested with a robe of honour, and marched at once out of the city, and encamped at the garden of Jivandas. The Mahrattas, after having completed the conquests of Guzerat and Malwa, had continued to extend their ravages and incursions, to which they had been encouraged by receiving contributions, in order to purchase their forbearance, wherever they appeared; so that as soon as they saw that no measures were taken to oppose their movements, they recommenced operations the next year. At length they assumed the absolute dominion of those districts which formerly only paid tribute. By these encroachments the frontier of the emperor retrograded as their's advanced, till by the most shameful neglect and supineness of the emperor, they occupied the territories as far as Gualior, and approached to the vicinity of Acberabad. Elated with these successes, they talked of nothing but of new conquests, in which they

Sheval, A.H. 1146. March, A.D. 1734.

16 Ramazan, A.H. 1146. 7 March, A.D. 1734.

were encouraged hitherto chiefly by Nizam-ul-mulk.

Khan Dowran, who was too wise not to perceive the consequences of such encroachments, but who declined to march himself against them, now sent his brother Muzaffer-khan to put a stop to them. Muzaffer-khan, who was a man of consummate vanity, was dismissed to the war with great distinction, being placed at the head of the household-troops, and was also accompanied by several generals, who, to the number of two-and-twenty, were commanded to attend him, the whole forming a superb army. The Mahratta freebooters accustomed to wage war only by skirmishes, without coming to a general engagement, did not attempt to stand, but retreated before the imperialists as far as Seronj, where Muzaffer-khan halted. On this the Mahrattas surrounded his camp, and by continual skirmishes so streightened his resources, that provisions became scarce in his army. In this situation he contented himself with preserving his person in safety, and waiting for orders from his brother and from the emperor. He was at length directed to return, and deemed himself fortunate in bringing his army back entire. He reached the capital on Tuesday the thirteenth of 13 Muharrem, A.H. 1147.
Muharrem, in the year 1147. On the occasion 4 June, A.D. 1734.

of paying his obeisance to the presence, he was presented with a plate full of jewels and gems, after which he repaired to his own palace, which was after all the principal object of his desires. Alms were now distributed by him, congratulatory offerings made by his friends, and nazers offered by his favorites and flatterers, as thanksgivings to Providence for extricating so illustrious a commander from the manifold dangers of that mighty expedition. All with one voice extolled the amazing abilities, and the astonishing conduct he had displayed in that momentous campaign, and they felicitated him and themselves on his safe return, an event beyond their most sanguine hopes. People who knew the man, and were unconnected with him, did not fail to speak of him with contempt.

6 Muharrem, A.H. 1147. 28 May, A.D. 1734.

In this year also the prince Ali-tebar, son of Aazem-shah, died, on the sixth of Muharrem, and he was buried close to his mother, Kirpapury, in the mausoleum she had built for herself.

24 Jumad-es-sani, A.H. 1147. 10 November, A.D. 1734.

On the twenty-fourth of the month of Jumad-es-sani, in the same year, the vezir Kamer-ed-din-khan and Khan Dowran were appointed to chastise the Mahrattas. Both these heroes, like Muzaffer-khan, after having sought the Mahrattas for a long time, returned together to the city. On their return to the capital, the accursed free-

booters attacked and plundered the town of Sanbehr, which is only a hundred coss distant from Shah-jehan-abad. The governor of that place, by name Fakhr-ed-din, in order to save the town from plunder, agreed to give up four elephants and three lacs of rupees, with some other effects, an engagement which he punctually performed on his part, but the freebooters, after having been paid, seized his person, and plundered him so effectually, that he was left with no other property in the world than the clothes on his back. The kazi, or chief-justice of the place, with other silly people, as a point of honour, murdered their whole families, and then taking arms, defended themselves to the last, and it cannot be denied but that they behaved valiantly and died bravely. After such calamities in other parts of the empire, the elements seemed to conspire against the inhabitants of the capital. On the eighteenth of the month Rebi-us-sani of the year 1148, in the evening of Wednesday, a rain commenced that continued for thirty hours together, with so much violence, that many of the houses in Dehli fell down; and the little stream at the Serai of Roshenara rose to such a height, that the water in several houses was of the depth of a man; and news came that the city of Acberabad had likewise experienced the same calamity at the same time.

18 Rebi-us-sani, A.H. 1148. 26 September, A.D. 1735.

Whilst the empire suffered under the convulsions we have mentioned, Ajazu, a zemindar of the district of Cora, availed himself of the circumstance to revolt against the governor of that district, and having killed him, plundered his effects, and took possession of his family. This governor was no less a person than Jan-nisar-khan, brother of the vezir Kamer-ed-din-khan. The latter, incensed at this atrocity, deputed his kinsman Azim-ullah-khan to attack the zemindar, and to rescue his brother's family. But Ajazu, who knew how far he had become obnoxious, quitted his usual residence, and retired to a part of his country which he knew to be difficult of access. This retreat having satisfied Azim-ullah-khan, he concluded that his commission was at an end, and he consequently made only a short stay in the country, where he left Kazem-beg-khan Turany, with some other commanders, whilst he himself repaired to the capital. No sooner did Ajazu hear of his departure, than yielding to the violence of his temper, and quitting his strongholds, he suddenly fell upon Kazem-beg-khan and his troops, the whole of which he put to the sword. Kamer-ed-din-khan, on gaining this intelligence was confounded, and being himself deficient in personal courage, applied to Saadet-khan, governor of Oude, whom he entreated, if he had any regard for the Mogul name,

or any zeal for the Mussulman religion, to march and chastise that turbulent Hindu. Saadet-khan, who was a man of great courage and a zealous supporter of the faith, no sooner received the letter than he resolved to undertake the expedition. He was on his journey to the capital on business, when receiving Kamer-ed-din-khan's letter, he quitted the high-road, and struck off to the right, with the intention of chastising the zemindar. The latter attempted to amuse this general also with fair words, but finding that he was not to be deceived, he resolved to stand his ground and fight, and only waited for the enemy's arrival to commence the attack. The governor of Oude, fatigued with his day's journey, was just retiring to his tent to take some repose, when Ajazu's spies, who were at hand, informed their master of the circumstance. They described him as a tall, robust man, dressed in green, with a flowing white beard.

The zemindar, who had just waited for such an opportunity, moving directly from out of his ambuscade, presented himself in camp at the head of his troops. At sight of this, Saadet-khan mounted his elephant, and exerted himself in marshalling his troops. Having taken off his dusty clothes, he had put on a white linen dress, and the foremost of his commanders, who advanced to engage, was Abu-turab-khan Turany, one of his best officers.

He was that day dressed in green, and was remarkable for having a long, flowing, white beard, as well as the governor. Ajazu perceiving that officer upon an elephant, took him for Saadet-khan, and with a number of desperadoes who followed him, he charged him at full gallop. He soon closed with the elephant, when, brandishing his spear, he gave the old officer such a violent blow, as pierced him through and through, the spear coming out at his back and burying itself in the back-board of the howdah. Saadet-khan's foremost troops were intimidated by the execution done by that select body, and began to waver, when Saadet-khan himself, with a chosen band, arrived to their assistance.

After having discharged a shower of arrows, he closed at once with Ajazu, and engaged him sword in hand. At this moment a Hindu officer, called Durjan-sing, a relation of the zemindar's, but who was in Saadet-khan's service, recognized and pointed him out to his master, who, now spurring his horse, engaged him with reproaches mixed with blows. Ajazu having received two wounds, one from Durjan-sing and another by an arrow from Saadet-khan, fell from his horse, and was trodden to death by the cavalry. The victorious general took possession of the enemy's camp, and ordered the zemindar's head to be sent to the

emperor, and his skin to be stuffed with straw, in order to be presented to the vezir; after which, leaving Abd-ul-mansur-khan, his nephew and son-in-law, with the greatest part of his troops, in charge of the country, he prosecuted his march to the capital, and on the seventh of Rejeb in the same year paid his respects to the emperor, to whom he presented a nazer of one thousand and nine eshrefies, with a curious poignard and sabre. The emperor, in return, honoured him with a rich robe, to which he added another poignard and a sabre enriched with jewels, a horse, and an elephant. Two months after, he was again summoned to the field, by letters from Abd-ul-mansur-khan, who wrote that the Mahrattas, whom Ajazu had invited to his assistance, were at hand.

7 Rejeb, A.H. 1148. 13 December, A.D. 1735.

On the sixth of Zilcad, in the same year, Yadgar-khan Kashmiry, a friend of Khan Dowran, a shrewd, well-spoken man, was deputed to Raja Jye-sing Sevai, and to Bajy Rao, the Mahratta general. He was charged with a patent from the king, granting to Bajy Rao the two provinces of Malwa and Guzerat, which he already held by the tenure of the sword. In making this formal cession, however, it was stipulated that Bajy Rao should enter the imperial service, in which negociation Raja Jye-sing was expected to act as mediator. In the same year, on the fourteenth of

6 Zilcad, A.H. 1148. 10 April, A.D. 1736.

14 Zilhaj, A.H. 1148. 19 May, A.D. 1736. Zilhaj, at about three hours before midnight, Zafer-khan departed this life. He was a nobleman who had acquired a character for many valuable qualities, but especially for his munificent and benevolent disposition. He had contracted an intimacy with Shah Reza, a dervish, whom he made the keeper of his conscience; he was in truth his spiritual guide, Zafer-khan submitting to his directions in every thing.

We shall now treat of the eastern part of the empire, which, after having long been lost in obscurity to the historian, now became the theatre of those important events, which paved the way for its conquest by strangers, who have so rapidly extended their dominion as to reach the neighbourhood of the capital of Hindustan.

I am not informed what governor succeeded Nusret-yar-khan in the government of Patna; I only know that, in the year 1140, Fakhr-ed-doulah, a brother of Zafer-khan, having obtained the government of that province, remained in it five years; but, as he could neither read nor write, and was wrong-headed, his actions evinced the grossest ignorance. He was proud and prone to anger, and at the same time so imprudent, that for a small matter he quarrelled with Sheikh Abdullah, a person of consequence in those parts, who conducted all the public business in the province.

This sheikh had been for a length of time employed by every successive governor, either as his deputy, or as a controller-general of the revenue, and he had in consequence connections with almost all the zemindars. He was greatly respected by them, and had acquired the good-will of the troops as well as of every individual in the country. Fakhr-ed-doulah, actuated by a feeling of petty jealousy, intrigued against him, and made his situation so uneasy, that the latter thought it expedient to quit his house at Patna, and to repair to the other side of the Ganges, where he had built a mud fort near the town of Sevan, having there bought up several villages with a quantity of land. The governor, dissatisfied with this conduct, crossed the river and besieged him in the mud fort, and wanted not only to obtain possession of it but also to seize his person. Sheikh Abdullah, reduced to extremities, applied to Saadet-khan, governor of Oude, his next neighbour, to whom he explained his situation; and, on his being invited to proceed to Oude, he sallied out from the fort, and bravely forcing his passage through Fakhr-ed-doulah's camp, effected his retreat. Sheikh Abdullah, having arrived at Saadet-khan's court, was received with distinction. The hostile governor, having thus missed his prey, returned to his capital, where he some time after became involved in

another quarrel with one Khwaja Mutaassem. This dervish was no less a person than the brother of Khan Dowran, who, under the garb of religion, had retired from public business, and lived at Patna in all the splendour of a nobleman of the first rank. Disgusted with the imperious behaviour of the governor, he quitted Patna, and repaired to the capital; when the minister, who had already heard of his conduct, procured Fakhr-ed-doulah's dismissal, and having annexed the government of Patna to that of Bengal, he sent a patent to that effect to Shujah-khan, who on the demise of Jafer-khan, his father-in-law, had succeeded him in the government.

Shujah-khan, now created Shujah-ed-doulah, the subahdar or viceroy of Bengal, was a native of the Deckan, and was by origin an Afshar, one of the Turk tribes of Khorassan. He was one of the principal men of Boorhanpoor, and having contracted an alliance with Jaafer-khan of the same city, by marrying his favourite daughter Zinet-en-nissa Begum, he lived in that nobleman's family. In Aurengzib's reign the latter became divan of Bengal, and in process of time obtained the nizamut, or military government, of the same province. By means of this alliance, every preferment obtained by Jafer-khan proved an accession of importance to the son-in-law; and the father-in-law, uniting in

his person the distinct offices of divan and nazim of the two governments of Bengal and Orissa, procured the subahdary or viceroyalty of the latter province for Shujah-khan. The latter shortly after went and established his residence in Orissa, not only to inspect personally the affairs of his government, but also because there had lately arisen some misunderstanding between these noble persons, so that they could no longer live together in terms of amity. Shujah-khan was a man of even temper and a lover of justice, and bore a character for many valuable qualities, which acquired him the esteem and respect of all the world. Jaafer-khan was the very reverse, and was universally disliked. One subject of their dissension was the aversion of his wife Zinet-en-nissa Begum, daughter of Jaafer-khan and mother of Ser-efraz-khan, to her husband Shujah-khan. The latter, who was of a virtuous disposition and a pattern of chastity, was offended with her husband, not only on account of his being on bad terms with her father, but more especially on account of his excessive fondness for other women. At length she separated from him, and taking her son with her, took up her residence in Moorshedabad, a city founded by her father, and named after him when he was simply Moorshid-kuly-khan. Here this noble lady lived in great splendour; and she would probably have

continued to enjoy tranquillity, had not fate thrown in her way a man predestined to overturn her family, and to change the whole face of affairs in those countries. There appeared at this time at court a person called Mirza Mahomed, the husband of a lady who, being herself of the Afshar tribe, was allied to Shujah-khan. Mirza Mahomed had two sons, the elder named Haji Ahmed, and the younger Mirza Mahomed Ali, afterwards better known by the name of Alla Verdi-khan, and bearing the title of Mehabet-jung. Mirza Mahomed had been in the service of the late Mahomed Aazem-shah; but on the death of his sovereign was reduced to the utmost distress, being obliged to support a numerous and indigent family. In this extremity Mirza Mahomed Ali, son of Mirza Mahomed, adopted the expedient of sending his mother and father to the court of Shujah-khan, in the beginning of Mahomed-shah's reign. That governor, happy to oblige a relation, conferred several favours on Mirza Mahomed, took him into service, and shewed him so much kindness, that Mirza Mahomed Ali, the son, resolved to repair likewise to the court of Orissa, a measure which he effected with much difficulty, on account of his being destitute of the means of accomplishing so long a journey. He at last arrived at the court of Orissa, and in the end proved to be a man of

genius, and capable of conducting the most important affairs, added to which he possessed intrepid courage. In a short time he acquired so great a character that Shujah-khan congratulated himself on the acquisition of so valuable a dependant, and looked on his arrival as an event which prognosticated the elevation of his protector's family. Mirza Mahomed Ali rose in favour and in credit from day to day, and was promoted to the highest offices; till at length he sent for his brother Haji Ahmed, with the whole family, which then lived at Shahjehan-abad. Having now assembled most of his relations, Haji Ahmed travelled into Bengal, from whence he repaired to the court of Orissa, where being arrived he was taken into favour and promoted to office.

Both brothers were, indeed, men of abilities, close application, and so capable of surmounting the greatest difficulties, that they strengthened by their very character Shujah-khan's government, and laid the foundation of that elevation to which it subsequently rose. New arrangements were introduced by them into the department of finances, and the revenues were greatly augmented by their application and industry; but Mirza Mahomed Ali, who to the civil talents of his brother united a brilliant character as a soldier, and had always displayed more genius than either his father or

brother, began to eclipse his relations, as well as all the persons in Shujah-khan's service, in so much that he became in time exposed to the shafts of envy. This envy was more excited when his protector Shujah-khan obtained for him a grade of honour, with the title of Mahomed Alla Verdi-khan.

All this time Jaafer-khan continued offended with his son-in-law, and as his life was drawing to an end, he conceived the project of procuring the Nizamet of Bengal for his grandson Ser-efraz-khan, the son of Shujah-khan by his daughter Zinet-en-nissa. This young nobleman already filled the office of divan of the province. Fully bent on this design, he wrote to his friends at court, and spared neither pains nor expense to obtain an object, that had now become the fondest desire of his heart, and by the fulfilment of which he would be succeeded by his grandson in both those offices. This circumstance having come to the knowledge of Shujah-khan, he consulted both Alla Verdi-khan and Haji Ahmed, who recommended that one or two persons of talent and eloquence should be immediately deputed to court with applications, both to the emperor, to the vezir, and to the prime-minister Khan-Dowran, soliciting the patents of divan and nazim of both the provinces of Bengal and Orissa, for Shujah-

khan. The deputies were enjoined to make the utmost despatch. Besides this mission, other persons of the military class were sent under various pretences, after having been dismissed from Shujah-khan's service, by different roads to Moorshedabad, with orders to hold themselves in readiness in the neighbourhood of Jaafer-khan's palace, to execute any orders they might receive. The rainy season being near, and as it was foreseen that the inundation in Cuttack would necessarily delay all communication between that place and Moorshedabad, a number of boats were provided, and boatmen were assembled and kept in pay, to the end that, on the very first intelligence of Jaafer-khan's demise, Shujah-khan might instantly proceed to Moorshedabad. A secret post was also established betwixt Cuttack and Dehli, not only for the sake of receiving, as soon as possible, the desired patents, but also for supplying daily intelligence, both from the capital and Moorshedabad. At last a letter came, informing Shujah-khan that Jaafer-khan had hardly five or six days to live. On this he instantly set out from Cuttack, taking with him Alla Verdi-khan, and such number of adherents as he thought sufficient, and proceeded hastily to Moorshedabad, sometimes by water, and sometimes by land, just as opportunity served. Shujah-khan had a son by another wife, named

Mahomed Taky-khan, whom he now appointed his deputy at Cuttack. Whilst proceeding with so much expedition, certain intelligence was received of Jaafer-khan's death, a few days after which, while yet upon his journey, he received the patent for which he had applied to court. He now proceeded with the expedition of a courier, and arrived in a few days at Moorshedabad, when he repaired directly to the Chehel-sitoon, a hall erected by Jaafer-khan, on forty pillars, and used only on public occasions. He instantly sent for the vakaa-neviss, or official news-writer, and the sevaneh-neviss, or crown-intelligencer, with some other officers of the government, as also for some of the principal men of the city, and producing his commissions, caused them to be read aloud by those two officers; and thus having proclaimed himself the lawful subahdar, or governor, of the two provinces, he took possession of the mesned, sat in it, and ordered the public band of music to strike up, after which he received offerings and congratulations from every one present. It is singular that his son, Ser-efraz-khan, who was residing at a country-seat about two miles from the city, in the fullest confidence that he should be recognized as the undoubted heir of his grandfather Jaafer-khan, knew nothing of what had passed in the city. The first hint he obtained

was from the sound of the public bands of music. Confounded and astonished at the intelligence that was now brought him, he consulted his friends what ought to be done. Most of them were of opinion, that as his father had received his commission from court, and had taken possession of his office, and secured the palace and the city, as well as the treasury, there remained no alternative but quiet submission. The young man accordingly having left his princely retinue behind, and taking with him only a few servants, came and threw himself at his father's feet, and presented his offering of congratulation. Shujah-khan now turned his mind towards putting into order the affairs of his government. Alla Verdi-khan became his prime-minister, but he availed himself also of the talents of Haji-Amed, and Ray-Aalem-chand, his former divan, who was certainly a Hindu of great merit, and deserved all the confidence reposed in him. He also called to his councils several other persons, among whom was Jagat-set Fateh-chand, a banker, whose wealth amounted to millions. So much for the public business.

With regard to private disputes between man and man, he trusted no one; but sending for the parties, he would listen patiently and leisurely to the story of each, and with much judgment drew

his conclusion, and pronouncing the decree, caused it to be executed with punctuality. His equity was no less conspicuous towards the zemindars and other landholders of Bengal. These persons, under Jaafer-khan's administration, had been mostly kept in confinement, and tormented in such a variety of ways, that it would be a pity to spend paper and ink in describing them. Shujah-khan, after having firmly established his government, released such of the zemindars and other landholders as he found on enquiry free from crime or fraud; as to the others, he ordered them to be all brought into his presence, and to form a circle round his person: this being done, he asked them, how they would behave in future, should he release them. These poor people, who had been for years languishing in dungeons, surprised at this address, burst forth into encomiums on his goodness, and after supplicating heaven to grant him a long and prosperous government, promised that henceforward they would pay the revenue with punctuality, and would prove obedient and dutiful servants. Engagements in their own hand-writing, authenticated by the proper formalities, being taken from them, they confirmed them by the most solemn oaths. Shujah-khan now sent for a number of rich dresses for each, according to his respective rank and station, so that there was not one in that

assembly who did not receive a suitable present. This ceremony being over they were all released, with injunctions to transmit henceforward the revenue through Jagatset.

In consequence of so just an administration, the kindom of Bengal, which is usually called the terrestial paradise, enjoyed so much prosperity as to diffuse every where abundance and happiness analogous to its title. As soon as the zemindars were dismissed, Shujah-khan turned his thoughts towards the distribution of offices and employments. He confirmed his eldest son, Ser-efraz-khan, in the office of divan of Bengal, and his second son, Mahomed Taky-khan, became governor of Orissa. The government of Jehangir-nagur (Dacca) he bestowed on his son-in-law Moorshid Kuly-khan. The family of his friend and favourite, Alla Verdi-khan, were not forgotten; and as the favourite had three nephews, to whom Shujah-khan had given his three daughters, they were thus provided for. Seid Ahmed-khan, second son of Haji Ahmed, was appointed fojdar of Rungpoor; Zein-ed-din Ahmed-khan, the youngest, to that of Acber-nagur (Rajmahal); and Nevazesh Mahomed-khan, the eldest, was invested with the office of bukhshy, or commander of the forces. These were their especial offices, but for the general affairs of his government he formed a council consisting of Alla Verdi-khan,

Haji Ahmed, Ray Rayan, Aalem-chand, and Jagat-set Fateh-chand. Matters remained in this state in the eastern provinces of the empire until Fakhr-ed-doulah being removed from the government of Azimabad Patna, that province was annexed to the Viceroyalty of Bengal, and the patents conferred on Shujah-khan by Khan Dowran. On being invested with the new government, Shujah-khan hesitated whom he should appoint his deputy. Several persons were proposed to him by his council, to all of whom he objected. His own wish prompted him to send one of his two sons: Zinet-en-nissa, his wife, however, would not consent to part with her son Ser-efraz-khan, while on the other hand, she objected to the nomination of her step-son, Mahomed Taky-khan, whom she viewed as a stranger, and with jealousy; so that as she would consent to neither, her husband at last gave up his intentions. He considered Behar as a country that required a vigilant superintendence. It bordered on Oude, Ilahabad, and on Berar, one of the dependencies of Aurengabad; with the governors of these countries it became necessary to keep up a correspondence; and he considered that such a post could not be more properly filled than by Alla Verdi-khan. On his proposing him to his council, the choice was unanimously approved. The appointment being made public,

Shujah-khan resolved to procure for Alla Verdi-khan new titles and honours from court. In addition to his military grade, he wished to raise him to the command of five thousand horse, and to procure for him the titles of Bahadur and Mahabah-jung, for which honours he applied through his agents to the emperor and Khan Dowran. Zinet-en-nissa being informed of the new appointment, expressed her approbation; she sent, therefore, for Alla Verdi-khan to the door of her apartment, and having ordered a rich dress to be put upon his shoulders, *she* appointed him to the government of Behar, as from herself.* It was only after this investiture, that Shujah-khan himself sent for him, and presented him on his part with the robes of the niabet, or deputy of Azimabad Patna, to which he joined the commission, and gave him an elephant, a sabre, and a set of jewels. A military force was also appointed to serve under him; after which he was dismissed, with injunctions to bring the province under proper subjection. I ought to remark that a few days before this elevation, a grandson was born to Alla Verdi-khan by his youngest daughter, the wife of his youngest nephew Zein-ed-din Ahmed-khan, and as he had

* Zinet-en-nissa seems to have insisted on her husband recognising her as the heiress to the government, and considered him rather as the viceroy-consort than viceroy in his own right.

no son of his own, the child was called Mirza Mahomed, after himself. He adopted him as his own son, and had him educated in his own house. Alla Verdi-khan, on his departure for Patna, obtained leave to take with him two of his sons-in-law, as well as several of his relations; and after a prosperous journey, he made his entry into that city, where having resided a whole year, he returned to Moorshedabad to pay his respects to the viceroy. He was received with every mark of distinction and favour, and sent back to his government; and shortly after received the confirmation of all the dignities and honours from Dehli, that had been proposed for him by his protector, which contributed not a little to raise him in the estimation of the people. He now enlisted in his service as many military chiefs of character as were out of employ in the neighbouring provinces, and by these means he soon found himself at the head of a well-appointed army; and being intent on confirming his power, and preparing himself for higher achievements, he was prompt in chastising such of his dependants as attempted to depart from the path of duty. Among other chiefs in his service was one Abd-ul-kerim-khan, an Afghan Rohilla, who commanded fifteen hundred of his countrymen, and who had such an opinion of his own importance as to undervalue others, and

in reality he had some title for vanity. Alla Verdi-khan, who had employed him on many trying occasions, was well satisfied with his services; but as he presumed upon them, he felt it requisite to reduce him to more subordination. Alla Verdi-khan, reflecting that to tolerate him any longer would only add to his presumption, and incite others to insolence, conceived it dangerous to defer the punishment of a headstrong man, who seemed ready to go into revolt. The day then being fixed for the purpose, Alla Verdi-khan ordered a number of trusty men to be in readiness in the hall of audience, and to fall upon Abd-ul-kerim-khan with their sabres, in case the Afghan should presume to be insolent, in answer to a reproof which he intended to give him. Accordingly on the next day, Abd-ul-kerim-khan presented himself at the durbar with ten of his followers, armed; but as he had always at the gate two hundred of his men ready to support him, and himself being a man of great personal strength, it was not an easy matter to find people to overpower him. Three men, however, having been selected, were ordered to attend, and to attack him, and he fell under their sabres the same morning. The other mutinous soldiery in his army now began to tremble; and many of the zemindars, who had hitherto proved refractory, owing

to the weakness of the former administration, were attacked and severely chastised; some were destroyed, and others that were guilty, but who had evinced contrition, were pardoned, and taken into favour, and they afterwards attached themselves to Alla Verdi-khan's person. By such vigorous measures he secured Shujah-khan's goodwill and esteem, and strengthened his own power.

But before we enter farther into the history of Alla Verdi-khan, it is proper we should refer to some events that now happened in the capital of the empire or in its environs; after which we shall resume our account of the affairs of Bengal.

We have already mentioned that Yad-ghar-khan of Cashmir had been sent from court to the Mahratta camp, to open a negociation with Bajy Rao, through the mediation of Raja Jye-sing Sevai, and that these two persons had been entrusted with the patent of the government of the provinces of Malwa and Guzerat for the Mahratta general. This extraordinary measure did not produce the desired effect; for it was so far from extinguishing the ambition of the Mahrattas, that it seemed to add to their presumption, and to encourage them to make new encroachments. It was now resolved, therefore, to have recourse to coercion. On the seventh of the month of Zilcad of the year 1149 of the Hegira, about six hours after sunrise, Khan

7 Zilcad, A.H. 1149. 24 February A.D. 1737

Dowran left the court on an expedition for that purpose. In taking leave, he was honoured with a belt from the emperor's own hand, after which he marched out of the city, and encamped at Talpat, distant nine coss from Dehli. On the twentieth of the same month, the vezir Kamer-ed-din-khan was also honoured with a belt, and departed on the same expedition, and encamped at Cheharbag. On that same day Khan Dowran marched at the head of his own division, and of the several bodies of cavalry that had been put under his command, to the number of about forty thousand horse; he was accompanied also by a great train of artillery, and encamped in the territory of Acberabad. There he was joined by several eminent rajas with their troops; and his force at last became so numerous that it covered the whole plain. Every one now expected that Khan Dowran would advance directly upon the enemy; but he contented himself with loitering away his time at about forty coss from the capital. Nor did the vezir Kamer-ed-din-khan display more promptitude. This minister had set out at the head of his division, composed of a numerous body of Moguls and Hindoostanies, attached to his person and in his own pay; to these were united the division of Turany Moguls, the household troops of the emperor, held in such high estimation that the whole province of Serhind had

20 Zilcad, A.H. 1149. 16 March, A.D. 1737.

been assigned to them for their pay. With such an army he marched towards Ajmere, with the professed intention of annihilating the Mahrattas. He had with him every necessary for a campaign, and was accompanied by many volunteers, who only waited for opportunities to signalize themselves and to acquire promotion. The magnificence of his cavalcade is hardly to be described; but, after marching a short distance towards the frontiers of Ajmere, he halted, under the plea of waiting for the Mahrattas; at least such was the impression throughout his camp. He was shortly after joined by Mahomed-khan Bangash, who having quitted Ferokh-abad, came with a considerable body of troops, and waited also the arrival of the Mahrattas. But not one of these *illustrious* warriors had the resolution to advance on those freebooters. Khan Dowran, without moving from the position he had taken up, was perpetually contriving plans for the campaign, the purport of which he communicated to Raja Jye-sing; and the latter, after having added his own observations, transmitted them to the vezir. As to Raja Abi-sing Rahtore, instead of repairing to the camp, as he had been required to do, he retired to his capital, where he abandoned himself to intoxication, which he maintained by the use of opium. He slept the whole day, and spent the night in asking what was to be done; but when-

ever he was sent for by Khan Dowran, he excused himself by alleging the necessity of defending his own hereditary dominions, and by making other futile pretences. The vezir Kamer-ed-din-khan, whether out of regard for himself or intent on the preservation of his army, spent his time in consultations with the Turany officers, his countrymen; but he kept his eyes fixed on the succours which he expected from Nizam-ul-mulk. The latter, who had quitted the court in disgust, paid but little attention to the troubles in Hindoostan; but rather wished to see the present ministers humbled to the dust. The emperor entertained strong suspicions against Nizam-ul-mulk, and was at all events too much in the trammels of Khan Dowran, to make an application to him; he had formed a bad opinion of all the Turany nobles of his court, and he made a point of abstaining from all consultation with them. Whole days and nights thus passed away, but no decisive measure was taken; indeed, no principle of activity existed among those impotent nobles, and most of the junior officers, who swarmed in the capital as well as in camp, were men totally devoid of capacity and energy. As to those few who were capable of thinking, they did not dare to offer any advice that might clash with Khan Dowran's opinion; and the emperor himself, over whose mind he

exercised unbounded influence, was unwilling to listen to any proposal that might give him umbrage. The emperor used to write both to Khan Dowran and to Kamer-ed-din-khan whatever came into his head, and they did not fail to excuse themselves for not meeting his wishes by some feeble excuse. Letters were perpetually passing and repassing between them, till at length it came to be the general wish, that some compromise should be made with the Mahrattas.

Things were in this state, when, by one of those dispensations of providence which man cannot foresee, news came that the enemy had been defeated by Saadet-khan. This event was the more unexpected, as Saadet-khan had no other government than that of Oude, and no other office or command than that of the household infantry. In point of troops and money he was inferior to most of the nobles of the empire; and as his government was to the north of the Ganges, he had naturally no concern with an enemy on the south of that river, and still less with the Mahrattas; but being a man of great personal courage, and jealous of the glory of his country, he was shocked to perceive the pusillanimity of the ministers; and fired with indignation at the continued encroachments of the Mahrattas, he resolved to avenge the honour of the crown, and he ventured to take that task upon

himself. Full of these high feelings, he reviewed his troops, augmented their numbers, furnished them with ammunition and provisions, and with a small train of artillery he quitted Oude, his capital, taking with him his nephew and son-in-law, Abd-ul-mansur-khan. He crossed the Ganges, and was about to cross the Jumna, when he learned that the raja of Bedaoon was besieged in his fortress by an army of Mahrattas. He applied to Saadet-khan for assistance, who answered him with these few words: "Be not dismayed, do not give them one farthing; for I will be with you instantly." In the mean time the rajas of Bundelcund had united their force with the Mahrattas, and were employed to guard the fords of the Jumna, the passage of which was now become difficult; and the raja of Bedaoon sustained a defeat, and was reduced to the last extremity. Consequent on this, Mulhar Rao Holcar, who was one of the greatest generals of Bajy Rao's army, having crossed the Jumna, turned Saadet-khan's rear without his knowledge, and falling upon the province of Etawa, actually burned and sacked every thing from the gates of that city to the palace of Moty-bagh, close to Acberabad, marking his track with slaughter, desolation, and ashes. From thence he marched towards the towns of Saadabad and Jelair. At this moment, Saadet-khan, on the twenty-second

22 Zilcad, A.H. 1149. 11 March, A.D. 1737. of Zilcad, of the year 1149, suddenly appeared in the rear of Mulhar Rao Holcar's troops. He fell on them like a storm that carries destruction in its track; finding the freebooters dispersed, he assaulted them so vigorously, that he never ceased the slaughter until he chased them beyond Etimadpoor, four coss distant from the field of battle. Heaps of dead were every where to be seen, and for eight miles together the road was strewed with carcasses of the slain. Three generals of note were taken prisoners, and Mulhar Rao himself, being severely wounded, made his escape with difficulty. The main body of the fugitives, having thrown away their booty, fled towards the Jumna, and in their consternation, mistaking one place for another, they plunged into a part of the river that had no ford and perished. Mulhar Rao, with a few that kept pace with him, found his way with infinite difficulty to Bajy Rao, who was then encamped at Kotal, a small town inhabited by Seids, close to Gualior. Saadet-khan pursued the flying enemy at the rate of twenty miles a day, until he reached the town of Dholpoor-bary, situated eighteen coss distant from Acberabad, on the north bank of the river Chunbul. Here he learned that Bajy Rao was encamped with the main army, and he intended to attack him next day; but the enemy had decamped. Finding he would have to en-

counter severe marching, he made preparations accordingly. He directed that every trooper should hold himself ready to march with four days' provisions and water, and threatened, that if any one should be found in his tent after the hour of departure, his horse would be hamstrung, and himself carried in derision round the camp. Meanwhile he caused a number of ox-hides and other leathern vessels to be filled with water, and a quantity of cakes to be baked, in order that the troops might not want supplies in the intended pursuit. Some light artillery were placed upon elephants, and a quantity of wall-pieces and swivels upon camels. Having distributed his water and provisions upon mules, camels, and other beasts of burthen, he resolved to pursue the enemy beyond the Chunbul, and promised his soldiers that he would be the first man to throw himself into the stream to cross that river. In the midst of these preparations, letters came from Khan Dowran. That minister having heard of Saadet-khan's success, and stung to the quick by that event, he wished either to join that general, and share in the honour of the expedition, or by restraining him, to make him a sharer in his own inaction. With these feelings he wrote him several letters, in which, under the most sacred oaths, he assured him that he would join him, and recommended

him by all means to avoid precipitation. Saadet-khan, who had just mounted his horse, found himself thus suddenly stopped short, and was greatly at a loss how to act. Nevertheless, he thought it his duty to suspend his march; and three or four days after he was joined by Khan Dowran. All this while the vezir Kamer-ed-din-khan remained encamped within thirty coss of the capital, on the high road to Ajmere, and Mahomed-khan Bangash, with his troops, also waited the arrival of the enemy in the same direction. On the junction of Khan Dowran with Saadet-khan, six or seven days were occupied in visits and entertainments. This delay being perceived by the Mahrattas, they availed themselves of the circumstance to recover breath from Saadet-khan's pursuit; and, turning suddenly round his rear, they marched direct on the capital, which they rightly judged to be void of troops. They advanced with such celerity that,
8 Zilhij, A.H. 1149. 25 March, A.D. 1737. on the eighth of Zilhij of that same year, they reached Toghlukpoor, under the command of Bajy Rao. This town was filled with a multitude of Mussulmans and Hindus from Dehli, who had gone thither both on account of devotion and on parties of pleasure. These were now all leisurely plundered. An immense booty was obtained by the Mahrattas; who, having passed the night near Khwaja Kutb-ud-din's monument, on the following

day plundered the Mina Bagh, and sacked and burned all the shops. About noon they proceeded farther, and sacked the town of Calem; from whence the wounded flying into the city of Dehli, alarmed the inhabitants with dreadful accounts of what they had experienced. The citizens, without further inquiry, lost their senses, and filling the city with their uproar, the whole became one scene of dismay and confusion. The emperor now ordered the few officers and troops that were about his person to sally forth and to repel the Mahrattas. In consequence of which, Amir-khan, Raja Bakhtmal, and Mir Hussein-khan, Cocaltash-khan, Munawer-khan, brother of (the late) Zafer-khan, Abd-ul-maabud-khan, and Siva-sing, the commandant of the corps called Amberies, with many other commanders, marched out of the city and took up an advantageous post between Kazi-sera and Lal-katora. They extended their line, and offered battle to the enemy. Mir Hussein-khan and Siva-sing, who had more courage than prudence, advanced farther, although Amir-khan repeatedly sent them word to wait; but this advice had no effect on those two imprudent men, who continued advancing alone. The Mahrattas at first appeared at a distance, a few at a time, until they had drawn this body farther and farther into the plain; when they suddenly fell upon it, and, with

their spears and long swords did such execution as threw the whole into disorder. One of the wounded men found means to escape, and, running up to Amir-khan, had the boldness to reproach him with cowardice and neglect. "What are you doing here," said he, "whilst a Seid and an Imam is losing his life?" Amir-khan, who was a wit, and never lost an opportunity of giving way to his pleasantry, heard the remark with a smile, and coolly replied, "Friend, we are perfectly satisfied with twelve Imams;* if some one has a mind to set up for a thirteenth, and chooses to be cut down, we have no objection to it." As the Hindoostanies had not Mahratta horses, most of them were slain; and their leader, Mir Hussein-khan, made his retreat, severely wounded and scarcely alive; while his troops, despoiled of their arms and horses, crept back every one to his house. Amir-khan and the other commanders, after being under arms the whole day, returned in the dusk of the evening to their tents. Meanwhile the news of the sack of Toghlukpoor, and the danger which threatened Dehli, being rumoured abroad, the generals at the head of the armies in the vicinity of the capital, knowing that the emperor was left alone, hastened

* The twelve lineal descendants of Ali are called Imams, as having filled the seat of their ancestor at the head of a schism opposed to the descendants of Ommiah, caliph of Damascus.

to court. The vezir Kamer-ed-din-khan, who was nearest (being only at thirty coss distant), arrived first; and, having on the ninth of Zilhij a skirmish with the Mahrattas, he encamped on the next day in the suburbs of the capital, on which the Mahrattas retired a little farther. Saadet-khan quitted Acberabad, and having marched sixty-five* coss in two days, he arrived on the evening of the second day at Talpat, close to the city. Khan Dowran, who had set out with him, arrived some time after; and on the third day, Mahomed-khan Bangash joined them. The Mahrattas, who had already felt the weight of the blows dealt out by Saadet-khan, did not like to see him again with such numerous forces, and being besides heavily laden with spoil, they decamped during the night, burning, sacking, and devastating in their retreat the towns of Rivary and Basoda; after which they retired into Malwa and Guzerat, their new conquests, destroying every thing in their route. The result of all these movements was, that the emperor perceiving that among so many generals and nobles none, with the exception of Saadet-khan, had ventured to attack the Mahrattas, he fell into a state of despondency, and proposed to his whole council to pay them chout or tribute, to insure their forbearance. The emperor, although convinced that

9 Zilhij, A.H. 1149. 26 March, A.D. 1737.

* Ninety-seven miles.

Nizam-ul-mulk was the contriver of this incursion, was also sensible how difficult it would be to punish him; he therefore thought it better to conciliate than to provoke him. He wrote to him several letters, full of kindness; he conferred on him the title of Asof-jah, raised his military grade to eight thousand horse, and flattered his pride so much, that the latter resolved to come to court. Leaving, therefore, his second son, Nizam-ed-doulah Nasir Jeng, as his lieutenant in the Deckan, Nizam-ul-mulk set out for the capital. On the rumour of his approach, Khan Dowran hastened to conclude the agreement with the Mahrattas, in order to prevent his deriving any credit or influence in framing the treaty. The terms stipulated that the Mahrattas should henceforward approve themselves the servants of the emperor and obey his commands, as well as the directions of his ministers, and that they should abstain from all communications with Nizam-ul-mulk. The Mahratta general, perceiving the pusillanimity of the ministers at court, made a separate treaty with each party, and thus kept fair both with the court and with Nizam-ul-mulk. The latter arrived at Dehli on the sixteenth of Rebi-el-awel in the year 1150, and paid his respects to the emperor; about a month after which, the honorary dress of the two governments of Malwa and Guzerat were conferred on his eldest

16 Rebi-el-awel, A.H. 1150. 22 June, A.D. 1737.

son, Ghazi-ed-din-khan, on the occasion of the dismissal of Raja Jye-sing Sevai and Bajy Rao from those offices. On the Friday following, news arrived of the decease of Abd-us-semed-khan, the famous viceroy of Lahore. A dress of condolence was bestowed on the vezir Kamer-ed-din-khan, his brother; and other robes of condolence were sent to that general's family at Lahore, together with a particular one to Zakariah-khan Sadik, his son, who received at the same time a commission for the governments of Lahore and Multan. Nizam-ul-mulk now, in obedience to the emperor's command, marched southward to chastise Bajy Rao, and advanced for that purpose as far as Acberabad, where having fixed as his deputy in that city a relation of his own, he marched to Malwa, crossing the Jumna at Acberabad. He passed by Etava, and recrossed that river at Calpy, and arrived in Bundelcund, where, having seized the raja, he advanced to Bhopal. Bajy Rao hearing of these proceedings, came from the Deckan, at the head of a mighty host, and meeting Nizam-ul-mulk on the plains of Bhopal, several engagements took place, none of which proved decisive. Things were in this state, when Nizam-ul-mulk received intelligence that Nadir-shah, the king of Persia, had invaded Hindoostan, and now deeming the war with the Mahrattas a small object, he came

to an accommodation with Bajy Rao, and leaving the Mahrattas behind, he returned to the capital with expedition.

Evils of this magnitude were deemed trifling by a set of traitorous nobles, who, intent only on each other's ruin, did not regard the consequences, if they could but promote their own private views; nor did they make any scruple, when necessary for that purpose, to shed the blood of Mussulmans, and to slaughter a whole race of Seids. Seif-ed-din Ali-khan, one of the noble persons attached to the late Abdullah-khan, had, on that minister's defeat, retired to his paternal estate, where he subsisted upon a small income derived from a jaghire of imperial gift, and a portion of land which had been long hereditary in his family. This slender subsistence he shared with a number of old and infirm relatives. This estate, however, proved an eye-sore to Kamer-ed-din-khan and to the Turanies, who, unable to bear the sight of a Seid in prosperity, and cherishing in their bosoms deadly hatred to the whole race, resolved to ruin every relative of Hussein Ali-khan. With this view alone, Kamer-ed-din-khan appointed one Merhamet-khan to the command of the district of Saharenpoor, with orders to confiscate the lands and estates held by Seif-ed-din Ali-khan and the other dependants of Hussein Ali-khan's family. That

wretch having arrived on the spot, usurped by violence the possessions of the most noble of men, and wanted to deprive Seif-ed-din Ali-khan and his unfortunate relatives of the little which constituted their subsistence. Reduced to the last extremity, they acted according to the proverb, "Despair knows no laws," and rising in their own defence, they deprived their oppressor of life. This act was keenly resented by the vezir and his brother Azim-ullah-khan. Those men, who had put up patiently with Jan-nesar-khan's death, who had suffered a miscreant Hindu to take possession of a Mussulman's wife and family, who had so little sense of honour and shame as not to punish such enormities; those very men now looked upon this act of desperation, and the killing of Merhamet-khan by a Seid's hand, to be a flagitious act, that concerned the honour of the government, and reflected upon the pure character of its *immaculate* ministers, so that nothing now could expiate such an enormity, but the blood of an illustrious Seid, and the murder of a whole family of needy people. The expedition was thought of importance enough to require the presence of that second Abu Sufian,* his own brother, Azim-ullah-khan, who with the remains of the army of Damascus, that is, with a

* Abu Sufian, the uncle of the prophet Mahomed, was his greatest and most determined enemy.

body of Turanies under his command, and a body of Afghans under that of Ali-Mahomed-khan Rohilla, joined by the troops of Ferid-ed-din-khan and Azmet-ullah-khan, sheikh-zadas* of Lucknow, marched to destroy Seif-ed-din Ali-khan and all the noble Seids of Barha. Those wretches, animated by a diabolical spirit of revenge, having arrived in that country, ranged their troops in order of battle; and Seif-ed-din Ali-khan putting himself at the head of his dependants and kinsmen, both parties advanced against each other. The injured Seid resolved to defend his honour, life, and property to the last extremity: he was greatly inferior to his enemies in numbers, and destitute of artillery; nevertheless, he derived so much strength from despair, that he repulsed Azim-ullah-khan, and made him give ground; he was even on the point of sending this wretch with his miscreant bands to their destined abode in the regions of hell, when another army of accursed Rohilla Afghans made its appearance on the Seid's flank, and poured on it such a violent discharge of musketry and rockets as caused all those brave men, with their lord at their head, to sip of the cup of martyrdom. After this the enemy advanced to Jansitah, a town where that unfortunate nobleman

* Literally, the sons of holy men; but in this case it alludes to certain saints of Lucknow.

had taken up his residence, owing to its having been built and peopled by his illustrious ancestors. There, abandoning themselves to licentiousness, they sacked the houses of those illustrious personages; nor were they restrained from laying their prophane hands upon those chaste Seidany matrons, who had never set foot on a pavement, nor exposed their faces to the open air. That devoted town became for some days an image of the last day: the cries and lamentations that incessantly rent the air, and the screams that rose from those desolated habitations, found their way to the vault of heaven. It is reported by persons worthy of credit, that for several days together after the perpetration of these enormities, such an uncommon redness overspread the horizon morning and evening, that it seemed as if the canopy of heaven had been steeped in the blood of those unfortunate people, or as if the firmament shed tears of blood for the fate of those afflicted women. These violences exercised upon Seids, and the subsequent redness of the horizon, gave room to conjectures among persons well versed in history, that this government would infallibly be afflicted by some dreadful calamity, as a punishment for the vezir's cruelty, and as a chastisement for the enormities practised by the damnable Azim-ullah-khan on the descendants of the prophet: for it is affirmed that

the calamities of great nations have frequently been preceded by such extraordinary appearances in the sky.*

At this time Khan Dowran's power and influence were paramount, but by a strange fatality he was unfortunate in all he took in hand: such was the fate of his treaty with the Mahrattas. He was, however, highly culpable in conniving at the peculations of the public money sent to Cabul, for the purpose of guarding the narrow passes and defiles of that province. He bestowed no attention to the complaints of the troops appointed to protect that mountainous province, whose numbers were reduced, and whose pay was in arrears. It cannot be doubted, that to such conduct was owing the mighty calamity which Hindoostan suffered from the invasion of Nadir-shah: for had he attended to the due payment of the mountaineers, destined to guard those difficult passes, and had he taken such precautions as the case required, it is probable that Nadir-shah would never have thought of entering Hindoostan, or if he had, that he would not have found those unexpected facilities which expe-

* The reader may easily imagine, after this narrative, the zeal with which Mahomedans in general espouse the cause of persons, with whom they are connected by the common ties of religion. The author seems throughout his work to shew his decided partiality for the Shias, of which faith he must have been himself.

dited his march. Nasir-khan, the governor of Cabul, was a pious man, who spent much of his time in hunting, or in devotion, and in reading the Koran. He had never made the least remonstrance against the minister's withholding the sum of twelve lacks of rupees a-year, which used to be sent for the garrisons of those parts. The vallies and defiles of the province, therefore, were left unprotected, for the guards being ill paid, abandoned their posts, and the garrisons being utterly neglected, invited invasion. The roads and passes being left open, every one passed and repassed unobserved; neither king nor minister had any intelligence.

It is singular, that the princes of the illustrious house of Sefy never had occasion to apply to the emperors of Hindoostan for assistance; while, on the contrary, the emperors of Hindoostan, such as Baber and Humaiun, sought refuge in the courts of the immortal Shah Ismail, and of his virtuous son Shah Tahmasp, by whom they were cherished and assisted in the recovery of their dominions. Nevertheless it is notorious, that the emperors of the Sefevian race, although in nowise influenced by necessity, maintained by embassies of congratulation a friendly intercourse with the emperors of of Dehli, thereby exhibiting proofs of their courtesy. So uncivil, however, was the court of Shahjehanabad under Mahomed-shah, and so inatten-

tive to those marks of etiquette, that it seemed on that score quite insensible to those forms, on the termination of the civil wars in Persia, and on the accession of Shah Tahmasp the second. After expelling the Afghan invaders, Mahomed-shah, so far from evincing any becoming interest in that event by sending a congratulatory mission, opened a friendly correspondence with Sultan Perveez, although Perveez's son had never made any scruple of invading Multan, and submitting every thing to fire and sword, during the short time his family kept possession of Candahar. Now it is certain that Shah Tahmasp, after securing to himself Ispahan and destroying the Afghan power, deputed a nobleman to the court of Dehli with an account of these events, and with letters stating, that those perfidious mountaineers having been chastised according to their deserts, and driven out of Iran, had no place of refuge but the empire of Hindoostan; that it was therefore incumbent upon the Hindoostany court to refuse protection to those miscreants within its territories. However, neither the letter nor the embassy were noticed, but after some time an ambiguous answer was returned by the same ambassador. On the accession of Abbas-mirza to the throne of Iran, another embassy was sent from that court into Hindoostan; and this minister too, after a lapse of time, was dismissed with a

letter full of words that meant nothing. Another envoy arrived from the same quarter on Nadir-shah's being firmly established on the throne. He was a Kezil-bash of high character and noble birth, but having been plundered by banditti on the road, it was not without difficulty and many entreaties, that he recovered even his credentials, and these proved to be a letter for Saadet-khan and one for Mahomed-shah. He performed his journey to Dehli with difficulty, and delivered his letters, but without having the means to return home; nor did Mahomed-shah or any of his ministers attend to his distress. They wondered at so many envoys coming from Iran; but were surprised to hear that Hussein-khan Afghan had taken possession of Candahar, where he was crowned, and from whence he made incursions into Multan. The king now sent for Nizam-ul-mulk from the Deckan, intending to avail himself, in case of need, of the abilities of that general, who had served with distinction under Aurengzib, and passed for an old wolf that had seen much bad weather, and who had much experience in the ways of the world. The ministers kept him at court, although he wanted to return to the Deckan, and they were resolved to put his abilities and his experience to the test, should any untoward emergency take place. About this time, Nadir-shah had advanced as far as Can-

dahar, to which he laid siege; and from thence he deputed Mahomed-khan Turcoman, with a repetition of his former complaint regarding the Afghans. The envoy having arrived at the capital, delivered his letter, and was desired to wait, but without obtaining a positive answer, although he insisted upon his departure. The ministers were undecided amongst themselves as to the purport of the answer to be sent, and even about what style and title should be given to Nadir-shah. They thought it a piece of good policy to delay the ambassador's return, and waited to see whether the Afghan Hussein-khan, after having defeated Nadir-shah's forces before Candahar, would not so far weaken that prince as to reduce his power to nothing, when there would not be any occasion to write an answer at all. Meanwhile, the siege of Candahar being converted into a long blockade, and his ambassador Mahomed-khan not making his appearance, Nadir-shah wrote him a letter and sent it by a few horsemen, inquiring the reason of so much delay, and requiring him to return speedily with an answer. But he continued to be detained under a variety of pretences, without being able to obtain any reply at all. The blockade of Candahar being protracted, Nadir-shah ordered a town to be built over against it, which he called Nadir-abad. From thence the siege was renewed, and a body of Kezil-bashes

escalading the walls, put the Afghans to the sword and took the fortress, together with Hussein-khan, who was sent to end his days in a fortress in Mazinderan.

It must be observed, that since the signal defeat sustained by the Afghans at Shiraz in Iran, that body had led a wandering life without a leader, insomuch that most of them, hard pressed by their enemies, had come to Hindoostan, where they became husbandmen in some parts, and soldiers in others, settling themselves in several provinces of the empire, where they became incorporated with the inhabitants. Ali Mahomed-khan Rohilla was one of these settlers. In the battle against Seif-ed-din Ali-khan, he had rendered an important service to Azim-ullah-khan, which had recommended him to the notice and favour of the vezir Kamer-ed-din-khan, who gave him in free gift some crown lands. This person, although only the adopted son of an Afghan, being originally a Hindu herdsman, proved himself a man of courage and abilities, and having taken into his service and assembled about his person those bands of Afghans that were continually flying from Candahar, he formed them into an army, and by their means spread his authority in the countries contiguous to his jaghire lands, such as Anowlah, Sumbul, Moradabad, Bedam, Bereily, and some other

places of which he took possession. From the above account, it will appear that the requisition made to Mahomed-shah by Nadir-shah for shutting the passages of Cabul, so as to prevent the Afghans from entering India, was in fact out of his power; for the garrisons had been long neglected, the customary remittances in money from the capital suppressed, and the guards of the passes withdrawn; and moreover, the governor of Cabul resided at Lahore. Where were the means, therefore, of restraining those troops of Afghan banditti that were continually passing and repassing, even if the emperor had wished to do so? and how much more unlikely was it that a set of ministers who, with such a man as Nadir-shah at their elbows for years together, had paid no attention to his motions, should now trouble themselves about the movement of a few Afghan freebooters!

Nadir-shah, after the capture of Candahar, ordered that fortress to be destroyed, and its inhabitants to be transported to Nadir-abad; and from thence he marched towards Ghizny and Cabul. On his way thither he sent this message to the governor of the latter place: "Know, that I have no business with Mahomed-shah's dominions; but as these frontiers are an inexhaustable mine of Afghans, a number of whom have joined him as well as you, I wish only to destroy that race; be therefore under no

concern for yourself, but make every thing ready to receive me as your guest." After this message, Nadir-shah advanced and encamped under the walls of Cabul. On the battlements the Cabulies, with the governor at their head, appeared in great numbers, ready to defend themselves, without paying any regard to the message sent them; but upon a body of Kezil-bashes being ordered to escalade the walls and to undermine the fortifications, the citizens called out for terms, which being granted, they came out of the gates and surrendered the fortress, acknowledging themselves his subjects. Intelligence coming at the same time, that several bodies of Afghans were lurking in the mountains, some troops were sent to dislodge them, and many of those mountaineers were put to the sword. Still no news coming from Mahomed-khan Turcoman, the envoy of Nadir-shah, he made choice of a certain number of respectable persons of Cabul, and sent them to wait on Mahomed-shah. The envoys proceeded by the route of Lahore to Dehli, where they executed their commission, but where none chose either to listen to or to comprehend the nature of their communications. It is reported by persons of veracity and credit who were in Dehli at the time, that whenever any person who came from the west opened their mouths and mentioned any thing about Nadir-

shah, Khan Dowran turned it into ridicule, and used to observe that the houses of Dehli had very lofty roofs, from which the citizens might see Nadir-shah and his Moguls from afar, whenever they chose. Khan Dowran and his friends looked upon the embassy of the Cabulies as a thing contrived by the vezir Nizam-ul-mulk and the Turany party at court, and especially by Zakariah-khan the viceroy of Cabul, a relation of the vezir. Nadir-shah, tired out by the repeated miscarriage of his envoys, despatched another messenger from Cabul under the escort of ten troopers. Having arrived at Jelalabad, they no sooner alighted than they were beset by a mob that assembled about them, and were slain, after having been first disarmed, none escaping but one, who found his way back to Cabul. There he gave an account of what had passed to Nadir-shah, who had been already full seven months in this province. On hearing of the affair of Jelalabad, he lost all patience, and marching thither, he surrounded it on all sides, and ordered all the inhabitants to be massacred. It is a certain fact that honorary dresses had been sent from the court of Dehli to reward those concerned in the murder of those ten men, and nothing prevented their being worn by the perpetrators but the vengeance that ensued. On the first intelligence of Nadir-shah's having entered the province

of Cabul, Khan Dowran and Nizam-ul-mulk were ordered to march out to oppose him; but they contented themselves with wasting their time in the city, after spreading reports of their intention to proceed, which they thought a piece of very refined policy. Nadir-shah having sacked Jelalabad, marched to Peshaver, in the environs of which place he was encountered by Nasir-khan, governor of Cabul, who having joined to what troops he could muster a body of Afghans, was prepared to make a stand in a certain narrow valley, which he imagined he had rendered impregnable. Nadir-shah hearing of his preparations, sent him this short message: " I inform you that I shall be on such a day in such a place, from whence you will do well to retire until I have passed." The message produced no effect. On that very day Nadir-shah appeared, and put to the sword every one that attempted to stand before him, whether Indian or Afghan. Nasir-khan himself was wounded, and fell a prisoner into the hands of the Kezilbashes. On his informing them who he was, they carried him to Nadir-shah, who in a few days after sent for him, and honoured him with a dress. From Peshaver that prince advanced to Attock, which river he crossed in boats, and entered the territory of Multan, the capital of which is Lahore. This unfortunate country already exhibited a scene

of woeful confusion. Several thousand banditti, availing themselves of the weakness of the government, coalesced, and forming into two opposite parties, waged war amongst themselves, and put under contribution several of the best districts. On the approach of Nadir-shah, Zakariah-khan, the imperial governor, confident in the conduct of the troops he commanded, and of the artillery which he could bring into the field, came out of Lahore, and having chosen an advantageous post on the Ravy, the river that washes that city, he prepared for action. But fools know nothing of war or peace, except when it is conducted at their own expense. Nadir-shah, on descrying that multitude of Indians huddled together, spurred his horse into the water, and with the few Kezil-bashes that were at hand pushed on to the opposite side, where he put to rout the foremost of those that seemed the best mounted. The remainder seeing this havock, fled in disorder, and the governor joining them, they took shelter within the walls of the city, whilst Nadir-shah encamped close to them. Zakariah-khan, now sensible of his error, proposed to surrender the place; and the offer being accepted, he came out, paid his respects, and received a dress of honour. From Lahore Nadir-shah proceeded direct to Dehli, from which city Mahomed-shah had likewise moved out with his

whole court and a numerous army, but he marched so slowly, that in two months time he had only advanced to Kernal, a town situated at the head of the canal made by Alla Verdi-khan. This place is just four days' journey from the capital. Here he encamped, and having ordered a numerous artillery to be placed round the camp, he caused the guns to be made fast to each other by chains. Nadir-shah, on his march from Lahore, had on two or three occasions sent a message to Mahomed-shah, adverting to the embassy of Mahomed-khan Turcoman to his court. To all of these messages no answers were returned, nor was the ambassador himself suffered to depart; he was kept in camp, without any one being able to guess what might be the intent of such a strange proceeding. Khan Dowran had long ago written to Raja Jye-sing Sevai, and to several other powerful rajas. On the valour and prowess of the Rajputs that minister reposed the highest confidence, and he calculated on their assistance as certain: but this resource failed him, for every Hindu prince amused the minister with frivolous pretences, and kept at home. The emperor and his whole court expected with impatience the arrival of Saadet-khan.

It is most strange, that although Nadir-shah was now so very near, and his army so numerous, yet not a man, public or private, in the Hindoostany

army, knew for certain where he was. The first certain intelligence received was from the grass-cutters and other camp-followers, who, going out at about eleven in the morning for the purpose of bringing in forage and other necessaries, had been cut off by some detached troops of the enemy. They returned wounded into the lines, which they filled with consternation and dismay. The whole camp was in a tumult in an instant; a general panic seemed to have seized every one, and all anxiously expected the arrival of Saadet-khan. At last news came that he was at hand, and on Wednesday the fifteenth of Zilcad, in the year 1150, Khan Dowran advanced out of camp to meet him, and having embraced him, brought him to the emperor. He was received with distinguished marks of favour and attention, and ordered to encamp close to Khan Dowran's troops. That general repairing to the spot, was waiting for his baggage, when news was brought that it had been attacked by some of Nadir-shah's light troops, which were now plundering it. Saadet-khan sent Khan Dowran notice, that he could not avoid going to assist his people actually engaged with the enemy, and he immediately proceeded to the spot. Meanwhile this message having been imparted by Khan Dowran to the emperor, and by him to Nizam-ul-mulk, the latter answered, "that it was already

15 Zilcad, A.H. 1150. 22 February, A.D. 1738.

three in the afternoon; that Saadet-khan's people must be exhausted by the length of their march, and that it was unreasonable to expect them to fight that day. Let his majesty (added he), issue his commands to that general to restrain his eagerness for a few hours until to-morrow morning, when the whole army being assembled in battle-array, with artillery in the front, may engage the enemy, and under his majesty's auspices obtain a glorious victory." This answer being reported to Khan Dowran, the latter ascribed it to jealousy on the part of Nizam-ul-mulk, and he returned for answer, that Saadet-khan was already far off, and must undoubtedly be actually engaged with the enemy; that it would be ungenerous indeed and dastardly, to suffer so brave an officer to be exposed alone to the whole force of the enemy. "Let others do as they please (said he), for my part I shall go and support Saadet-khan." On these words, immediately mounting his elephant, which was standing in readiness, he marched forward, being followed by his own troops and by some light artillery. There remained only two or three hours of daylight when he arrived on the field of battle, where he took his post on Saadet-khan's flank, at about one mile distance from him. Nadir-shah on seeing his pickets engaged, left part of his army for the protection of his camp, and marching out with the

main body, found his troops drawn up in three divisions. Keeping one division with himself, he ordered the two others to engage the two Indian generals. The brave Kezil-bashes spurring on their horses, rushed upon the Indians, and in two hours did so much execution, that the troops of those two divisions were thrown into the utmost disorder, and fled, especially those of Khan Dowran, who lost the bravest and most distinguished of his officers. Amongst these were his brother Muzaffer-khan, his eldest son Ali Hamed-khan, Shahzad-khan, Yadgar-khan, with Mirza Akil-beg, and most of the men of his corps; as also Mir Gooloo, the son of Mir Mushref, and Ratan-chand, the son of Raj Khoshall-chand. Khan Dowran himself being severely wounded, fell senseless, and was carried away by a few friends, who in the dusk of the evening arrived in the army, where in conformity with that discipline so conspicuous in the camp of the emperors of Hindoostan,* they found nothing of Khan Dowran's encampment, and not even a tree to afford that minister shelter. His treasure, furniture, tents, equipage, horses, and cattle, had been plundered by the Hindoostanies and his own people. At last a small tent was sent by some person, and Khan Dowran was stretched at his length upon

* This is a piece of irony of the author against the slovenly camps of the Indians.

the ground, where the vezir Kamer-ed-din-khan and Nizam-ul-mulk, together with the principal eunuchs of his majesty's seraglio, came to visit and condole with him on his misfortune. Khan Dowran, who had now come to himself, opened his eyes with difficulty, and feeling that his wounds were mortal, said: "As to me, I am a dead man; but take ye care of your own concerns; beware of allowing the emperor to visit Nadir-shah, and beware of letting Nadir-shah proceed to the city; avert that calamity at any price, and induce him to go back by every means in your power." After hearing these words, and conferring a little togther, the two chiefs returned to their tents, and Khan Dowran died on the nineteenth of the same month. 19 Zilcad. A.H. 1150. 26 February, A.D. 1738.

Meanwhile Saadet-khan was still in the field. Those of his men who had escaped the slaughter formed into a body, and surrounded him on all sides, when the Kezil-bashes made a severe attack. One of them, who was a young Turk of Nishapoor, and a townsman of Saadet-khan, having forced his passage, stood intrepidly before him, whilst the latter was shooting his arrows on all sides, and called out to him, "Mahomed-amin, against whom art thou fighting, and on what soldiers dost thou rely? Art thou mad?" Saying this, he fixed his spear in the ground, alighted, and making his horse fast to it, he got hold of one of the elephant's

ropes, and mounted into the howdah, where he presented a poignard to Saadet-khan's throat, who was made prisoner, and carried to Nadir-shah. That prince spoke a few words to him, and treated him with much kindness; but on its growing dark he quitted the field of battle, and retired to his camp. Saadet-khan being now informed of Khan Dowran's death, conceived that this was a favourable moment for succeeding to that nobleman's station of Amir-ul-omrah, which he had always in view; and in order to recommend himself to Mahomed-shah, he made a merit of opening a negociation with Nadir-shah. The latter prince agreed to conclude a peace, and to go back to his dominions, on receiving two crores of rupees; and it was stipulated, that as soon as Nizam-ul-mulk should come and provide for the payment of that sum, Nadir-shah's sabre would be returned into the scabbard. This piece of good news was announced by Saadet-khan to the emperor and to Nizam-ul-mulk. The former, satisfied with the turn affairs had taken, at a time when both he and Nizam-ul-mulk had given themselves up to despair, was at no loss how to act. He immediately dispatched Nizam-ul-mulk with full powers to conclude a treaty to that effect. The latter having arrived in Nadir-shah's camp, was introduced through Saadet-khan's mediation, where he

promised to pay the two crores;* after which, he returned in high spirits to his master, to whom he took care to exhibit in the fairest point of view his own zealous conduct throughout this negociation. The emperor loaded Nizam-ul-mulk with encomiums and favours, and conferred on him as his reward, the office of Amir-ul-omrah. That monarch, who had hitherto been agitated with fears for both his life and crown, now felt it incumbent on him to comply with this general's ambitious demand, and to keep him in humour. On the next day (the twentieth of Zilcad), the king proceeded at daybreak to the Persian camp, according to Nizam-ul-mulk's advice. On his approach, Nasr-ullah Mirza, the son of Nadir-shah, came out to meet him. On the young prince's being descried at some distance, Mahomed-shah ordered the regal palankins to be set down, when he came forth and embraced him; after which they proceeded together to Nadir-shah's headquarters. That monarch rose up, advanced to the end of the carpet, and embraced Mahomed-shah, after which he took him by the hand, carried him to his own mesned or throne, made him sit on it with himself, and after having shewn him every mark of attention, he dismissed him with the

20 Zilcad, A.H. 1150. 27 February, A.D. 1738.

* Equal to about two millions sterling.

utmost honour.* As soon as the emperor had set out for his own camp, Saadet-khan heard that he had been supplanted in the dignity of Amir-ul-omrah, and that Nizam-ul-mulk had been invested with it. This piece of intelligence threw him into an agony of passion, and abandoning himself only to his indignation, he waited on Nadir-shah, to whom he represented, that no one in the Hindoostany camp had so much power as Nizam-ul-mulk, and none so much talent for public business. "What mighty matter," said he, "is a sum of two crores of rupees, that your majesty should think of quitting India for so small a consideration; two crores in this country are a sum that I myself can afford to pay, out of my own private fortune, but immense riches may be had from the emperor's camp, from his palace, from those of his grandees, and from the bankers, and merchants of the capital, provided only that you proceed to the capital, which is only forty coss from hence." Nadir-shah's eyes being opened by this speech, he wrote a note in his own hand to Nizam-ul-mulk, commanding his attendance. The latter, relying on the faith of the treaty concluded, and on Nadir-shah's word, went with-

* The whole of this ceremony proves that Nadir-shah treated the emperor of Dehli on terms of perfect equality.

out hesitation. Being introduced to the presence, he received orders to return in the evening, and to bring Mahomed-shah with him to a second interview. Nizam-ul-mulk represented that such were not the terms of the treaty: but he was answered, that the treaty would not be broken by such a step. "I have," said that prince, "no design against Mahomed-shah's empire, neither against his life nor his honour, only it is proper that I should see him again." Such being Nadir-shah's pleasure, this message was transmitted by Nizam-ul-mulk to his master, who yielding to circumstances which he could not control, was fain to comply; and taking with him Amir-khan and Isack-khan, with a few pikemen and some servants, he proceeded to the Persian camp. Finding that his nobles and military chiefs, with his whole household, were bent on following him, he stopped and obliged them to go back. On his arrival he was desired to alight at a tent that had been pitched for him, and soon after he received a message desiring him to send for the ladies of his family, for all his household, and camp equipage and furniture, and likewise for his councillors and officers of state, in order that he might be at his ease while in the Persian camp. This message was followed by an order sent and published in the Hindoostany camp, giving leave to every one to

remain where he was or to return to Dehli. Most persons adopted the latter alternative. Mahomed-shah having sent for his family and household, and for his other officers, an order was brought by an executive officer to Kamer-ed-din-khan vezir, commanding his attendance. A little before this, Saadet-khan, in company with Tahmasp-khan Jelair, an officer who commanded the corps of that name, had gone to the capital with an order from the conqueror, and another from Mahomed-shah, enjoining Lutf-ullah-khan Sadik, the deputy governor of the city, to open the gates of the citadel, and to deliver over every thing and every office to those two nobles. After their departure, Nadir-shah himself approached the capital in company with Mahomed-shah. As for the Hindoostany army, most of the men on hearing of the emperor's detention, and of the vezir's departure, took fright and dispersed. Many were attacked, and either killed or plundered by the enemy's parties that were marauding; many more by the peasantry who rose every where upon them. On the eighth of Zilhij, in the year 1150, Mahomed-shah entered the city, and went to the citadel; two days after which Nadir-shah followed and took up his quarters there also. Mahomed-shah occupied his old apartments, attended by all the nobles of his court and all his household, who resumed their abodes

8 Zilhij, A.H. 1150. 26 March, A.D. 1738.

in the quarters to which they were accustomed. On the tenth of the month, which was the day of the Korban (or sacrifice), the khutbah was recited in the principal mosque for Nadir-shah; on the next day a report was spread that he was no more. Some said that he had died a natural death; and others, as if to screen Mahomed-shah, said that he had been killed by a Calmuc woman of his own camp. The report of his death, which ran throughout the city, was believed in an hour's time, although Nadir-shah was alive and well in the citadel, the gates of which were open day and night. Some of the Persian troops were encamped before the gates; many had taken up their lodgings in different parts of the city; others were encamped on an open plain situated betwixt the city and the river. Hardly had this false rumour obtained currency, than armed bodies of Hindoostanies made their appearance in the principal streets, putting to the sword the Persians wherever they could lay their hands upon them; and as the latter, uninformed of the report, and unacquainted with the language of the country, were roving about by twos and threes without suspicion, many of them fell victims. Night came on, and it was expected that the tumult would subside, but it seemed to gain more force. Nadir-shah, informed of these events, ordered his men to assemble, but to re-

10 Zilhij. A.H. 1150.
28 March, A.D. 1738.

main quiet, armed and ready to repel force by force if attacked. It is a remarkable fact that of so many Indian nobles lodged or stationed throughout the city, not one of them took the trouble to move or to attempt to appease the tumult; nay, some of them who had taken from Nadir-shah a number of Persians as safeguards for their families and houses, suffered these guards to be killed in those very houses, or massacred them themselves, insomuch that although in the engagement at Kernal there were no more than three men slain and twenty wounded in the Persian army, this insurrection cost Nadir-shah more than seven hundred men. At daybreak, the sedition raged with greater fury than ever. Nadir-shah mounted his horse, and came out of the citadel with the intention of appeasing it; but on perceiving the slaughter that had been made of his people, he ordered them to retaliate on the inhabitants; and as the bodies of cavalry and infantry left his camp for that purpose, he directed them not to leave a soul alive wherever they should discover the body of a murdered Persian. In an instant the foreign soldiers entered the houses, and commenced a cruel slaughter. They not only plundered the people's property, but carried away their wives and daughters. Numbers of houses were set on fire and destroyed.

About noon, when the number of the slain exceeded all computation, a cessation was proclaimed by Nadir-shah's order, and the soldiers everywhere sheathed their sabres. In a few days, the stench arising from the numerous unburied bodies which filled the houses and streets, became so offensive that the air was infected, and in many places the streets were blocked up with carcases. On information of this, the cotwal received orders to bury the dead, and to cleanse and clear the streets. That magistrate having brought all those bodies together in heaps, surrounded them with the beams and rafters of the ruined houses, and setting fire to the wood, the whole was consumed, without distinction of Mussulman or Hindu. A few days after, Saadet-khan died of a mortification in the foot, and the two crores of rupees which he had promised were paid by his nephew and deputy, Abul-mansur-khan, and brought to Nadir-shah by Shir Jeng, who had been sent for that purpose with a body of a thousand Persian horse. Nadir-shah, not content with the treasures and wealth found in the imperial treasuries, raised immense sums by contribution on the inhabitants; after which he led forth a virgin princess from amongst the descendants of the emperor Shah Jehan, and married her to his son Nasr-ullah Mirza; and as he was in haste to return to his

dominions, he contented himself with severing from the empire of Hindoostan, and adding to his own, the whole of the province of Sind and Cabul, with some districts of Penjab, that had always been set apart for the pay of the garrison of Cabul. The empire of Hindoostan he restored to Mahomed-shah. On his departure, Nadir-shah received from Mahomed-shah a sumptuous entertainment; on which occasion he appointed a number of the nobles of his court to wait at table. The duty of Amir-khan was to present the coffee, on pouring out which, in presence of the two monarchs, it occurred to him, that if he did not present the first cup to Mahomed-shah, his own sovereign, such a neglect would be construed into a want of respect, and would, besides, excite suspicion in his master's mind; and if he did, such a preference, under existing circumstances, might give offence to Nadir-shah, a sanguinary prince, whose resentment no one could incur with safety. At last he filled a cup, and putting it into the hands of Mahomed-shah, he said, "Your servant is too inconsiderable to present a cup of coffee to the king of kings; let your majesty, who are my master, and his brother, present it yourself." The two monarchs, pleased with the ingenuity of this expedient, loaded him with encomiums, and his conduct was applauded both

by Hindoostanies and Persians. Amir-khan was indeed a man of elegant manners, exceedingly ingenious, and full of delicate taste and address in whatever he did. After this entertainment, Mahomed-shah being sent for with all his nobles, who were formed into a circle, a tiara of jewels was presented to him by the hands of Nadir-shah, who gave him also much advice, and returned to him his kingdom in their presence; and having likewise ordered a dress of honour for every one of the Hindoostany grandees, he quitted Delhi the seventh of Sefer, in the year 1151, and proceeded towards his own dominions. After his departure, Mahomed-shah turned his thoughts toward restoring his own affairs; he was assisted by the counsels of the vezir Kamer-ed-din-khan, by Nizam-ul-mulk, and by Isack-khan, a nobleman lately come into the administration, who by his personal attachment, and by the important service he had rendered in the battle of Kernal, and throughout the whole war with Nadir-shah, had greatly recommended himself to the emperor. He was created divan (chancellor of the exchequer); Amir-khan received the title of Umdet-ul-mulk, and held the third military grade in the kingdom; while the office of sedr, or chief judge, was conferred on Azim-ullah-khan. On the twenty-ninth of the same month Murteza-khan received the robes of the office of Mir Akhor, as did Niamet-

7 Sefer, A.H. 1151. 15 May, A.D. 1738.

29 Sefer, A.H. 1151. 6 June, A.D. 1738.

ullah-khan, nephew of Nizam-ul-mulk, those of Karaol Begy. On the eighth of the month Rebi-el-awel, the elephant-office was bestowed on Hadi Ali-khan, the brother of Amir-khan: and Selabet-khan, the son of Saadet-khan, was made commander of the Ahedy guards, as was Amir-khan of the Alla-shahies.* The post-office and the gazette office were bestowed on the physician Maasum Ali-khan. On the seventeenth of Shaban, the dignity of the mahi or fish was bestowed on Isack-khan, as well as on Selabet-khan; and Saad-ed-din-khan was placed at the head of the office for registering patents and titles.

8 Rebi-el-awel, A.H. 1151. 16 June, A.D. 1738.

17 Shaban, A.H. 1151. 17 December, A.D. 1738.

After these promotions, the emperor turned his thoughts towards his personal affairs. He had long harboured suspicions against Kamer-ed-din-khan and Nizam-ul-mulk, and against all the Turanies in general; nor had these feelings been removed by their conduct during Nadir-shah's invasion. He resolved, therefore, to weaken their power, though he was fearful to act openly. The persons on whom he confided were Amir-khan and Isack-khan, whom he consulted as to the line he ought to pursue. Amir-khan, who to acute discernment added great determination, was for acting openly, and for instantly removing Kamer-ed-din-khan from the ministry. The emperor seemed

* The Ahedy and Alla-shahies were household troops.

resolved to do so, and said he waited only for the departure of Nizam-ul-mulk to his government in the Deckan; and the latter was desirous of retiring thither, in consequence of the troubles occasioned in that quarter owing to Nadir-shah's invasion, and which had evinced themselves under his son Nasir-jeng. Fearful that these disorders might subvert his authority in the south, Nizam-ul-mulk transferred his office at court to his eldest son, Ghazi-ed-din-khan, who was also son-in-law to Kamer-ed-din-khan. On his departure, the emperor sent the commission of vezir privately to Amir-khan, and that nobleman having commenced to act, made remarks openly on the measures of Kamer-ed-din-khan, equally unbecoming the dignity and station of both. The latter, on being informed of his supersession, wrote to Nizam-ul-mulk, who was still encamped in the vicinity of the city, and asked what he thought ought to be done. The viceroy returned for answer, that it would be highly indecent to resist his sovereign's will, or to oppose his pleasure; he advised him to do nothing more, than to ask leave to quit court and accompany him to the Deckan. On this the vezir addressed a letter to the emperor in these terms: "Your faithful servant is not conscious of having been guilty of misconduct; but as a great alteration has taken place in your majesty's beha-

viour, arising possibly out of the suggestions of interested persons, your faithful servant, equally incapable of ingratitude or disobedience, begs permission to proceed to the Deckan with Nizam-ul-mulk; and requests your majesty will therefore transfer his office into the hands of a more favoured subject." Kamer-ed-din-khan having forwarded this letter, proceeded to Nizam-ul-mulk's encampment, and took up his abode under tents. The emperor, wholly devoid of firmness, was confounded; sent both for Amir-khan and Isack-khan, and consulted them on the posture of affairs. The former made the same answer which he had done some days before. The emperor said nothing, and that nobleman for the present took leave. After his departure, the emperor asked Isack-khan his opinion, and conjured him by every thing sacred, as he valued his sovereign's favour, to speak out, and without reserve. Isack-khan, who owed his preferment to his brother Amin-khan, and had promised that nobleman that, in whatever circumstances he might be placed, he would never give advice contrary to his opinion, declined answering, and remained silent. The emperor astonished at his reluctance, urged him with the most soothing entreaties to speak out. At length he replied in these terms: "If I speak according to the dictates of my conscience, I commit a breach of a solemn

promise; but if I abide by that promise, I may be guilty of ingratitude, and fail in my duty to your majesty. I trust, therefore, you will vouchsafe to hold me excused." The emperor, astonished at these words, became more eager than ever to hear what he had to say, and at length Isack-khan, unable to resist his sovereign's importunities, delivered himself in these words: "Though Amin-khan be undoubtedly a man of talent and courage, yet he bears the character amongst the courtiers, of preferring a piece of wit to any consideration whatever, and he often assumes an unbecoming style in his language and behaviour. At the same time, those who, like myself, have gained preferment through his means, and owe to his recommendation the honour of kissing the imperial threshold, and of paying their respects personally to majesty, have no weight with the Hindu rajas, with the old nobles of Hindoostan, or with those of the court. In the eyes of all these ancient families we are deemed men of yesterday, and we can have no influence. Those persons look up to Nizam-ul-mulk, and to Kamer-ed-din-khan, with the highest respect; and long accustomed to obey their commands and to conform to their will, submission is quite natural to them, and they think it an honour even to be instrumental in carrying their orders into execution. To remove two such ministers on

the bare strength of the abilities of such men as we are, cannot, in the opinion of your faithful servant, be productive of good. At the same time, whatever your majesty has determined is undoubtedly founded on sound wisdom." The emperor at these words was shaken in his late purpose, and resolved to be again reconciled both to Nizam-ul-mulk and to Kamer-ed-din-khan. On the next day Amin-khan came to court as usual, and perceiving an alteration in the emperor's reception of him, he with much surprise asked the reason. The emperor answered: "I have reflected on the late proceeding, and find I have been wrong to offend the Turany nobles, who are now the main hinge upon which my affairs turn. It appears to me important to the welfare of the empire, that they should be satisfied, and it is incumbent upon you likewise, as you value the character of a zealous faithful servant, to abstain henceforward from any thing that may create dissensions, or give them umbrage." Amin-khan, sensible of the change that had taken place, hastened out of town, and going to Nizam-ul-mulk, made apologies both to him and to Kamer-ed-din-khan, begging of them both to explain their wishes, as he was prepared to meet them. Nizam-ul-mulk, having passed many encomiums on Amin-khan's good sense, observed, that as some coolness had of late occurred between him and Kamer-ed-din-

khan, he recommended that Amin-khan should repair for the present to Allahabad, which, added he, is your government. Amin-khan promising to comply, took his leave; and having obtained the emperor's consent, quitted the capital, and encamped in the neighbourhood, where having spent some time in providing field-equipage, and appointing proper agents to act for him at court in his absence, he continued his journey; whilst Isack-khan, who remained at the capital, acquired the highest ascendancy over the emperor's mind, and became extremely respected both by Nizam-ul-mulk and Kamer-ed-din-khan. Some other changes however, took place at court. Abul-mansur-khan, the son-in-law of the late Saadet-khan, who had been honoured with the government of Oude, repaired to that city; Zakariah-khan was suffered to remain in his government of Lahore and Multan, in which he had been confirmed by Nadir-shah. His youngest son bore a high character for courage and talent, and during the expedition against the Afghan Nur Mahomed-khan Leily, had been honoured by Nadir-shah with the sirname of Shah Nevaz-khan, and was suffered to continue in the Penjab, where his principal business was that of quieting the districts entrusted to him, and of increasing their revenues.

Shujah-khan, entitled Shuja-ed-doulah, viceroy

of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, departed this life about the time when Nadir-shah arrived at Dehli. It would be difficult to recount all the good qualities of that worthy man, or even to describe a few of them in this book; for there was no man in his service whom he had not essentially obliged by some personal favour. On finding his dissolution at hand, he made a present of two months' salary to every person, civil and military, in his service; without excepting the domestics of his household, or even the women that attended as menial servants in his seraglio. A few days before his death he sent to ask pardon from every one of them, entreating their forgiveness if he had ever injured them.* His benevolence was such, that whoever had once chanced to form his acquaintance was sure of receiving some favour; and even some old women whom he had known at Boorhanpoor, the place of his nativity, experienced his munificence and received suitable pensions. He was so impartial an observer of justice, that the poorest suitor in his presence was upon a footing with his son; and the timid sparrow, certain of finding in his bosom a shelter from the hawk's pursuit, flew towards him with perfect reliance; so that people acquainted

* This amiable feature is by no means uncommon among those Mahomedans who have passed through a life of popularity among their people.

with history might have fancied they lived in the reign of Nushirvan. He was so benevolent, that whenever a person possessing any capacity, or even the air and manners of a gentleman, appeared in Moorshedabad, and he received information of his arrival and of the object of his coming, he would wait three or four days until he heard of his having some friend, through whose application he generally granted the whole or part of the stranger's request. If he found that he had neither acquaintances nor friends, he would ask his courtiers if none of them knew any thing of the stranger. "I suppose not," he would add, "or I should have received some application on his behalf." After these few words, he gave time to some of those present to reply. He has frequently sent to enquire regarding strangers himself, and would send word to say that, since they had come so far, they ought to have given him notice, and paid him a visit; after this, if requisite, he has been known to send underhand a supply of money: nor did any of his servants dare to extort presents on these occasions. No such custom prevailed in his household as has taken so deep a root since, and is now practised every where, of the servants on carrying presents from their masters pestering the receivers for a gratuity, and in case of refusal being insolent. This vile practice, from becoming common

among such low-minded people, has now spread amongst others of the better sort, who are not ashamed to imitate their example. Such exactions never failed to come to the knowledge of Shujah-ed-doulah, and the guilty were sure of being dismissed the service, whilst the informer received a reward. Hence such shameful habits were unknown in his household; but it is true that they were so handsomely paid that they need not have coveted what was bestowed on others; and by living contented and in ease, they were little inclined to risk their situations by disobedience of his orders. To every one of the officers in his service, whom he knew personally, he used to send trays full of exquisite food, to some daily, to others every other day, and to some twice a week; and whoever had once been complimented in this manner was certain of a continuance; nor is there an instance of its having ever been discontinued in any one case. Of all those personally known to him he kept a memorandum-book made up of ivory leaves, into which it was his custom every night, on going to bed, to look, and to note down such presents as he thought proper to make. He would sometimes send for a zemindar who had been dilatory in the payment of the revenue, or for his agent, and inform him that he had appointed such a one to receive the payment, and he wished that a cer-

tain present might be made to him as his perquisite. This request was invariably complied with, and often some addition was made by the zemindar himself, who deemed it a point of honour to oblige a person so recommended. After some time he would ask the person thus employed as to the reception he had met with, and on a candid confession of his profits he used to hold him in estimation in future, and increase his favour towards him; but if he prevaricated, or concealed the truth, from that moment he ceased to repose confidence in him. In this manner he put to the test the integrity of a certain number of persons, on whom he fixed his eye for public employment, and having satisfied himself, he effaced their names, and noted down those of others. He adopted this secret scrutiny during the whole course of his life. May God's mercy be upon him, and may he in his infinite goodness assign him a place amongst the elect in heaven! Amen, amen.

After the decease of that excellent man, he was succeeded by his son Ser-efraz-khan, entitled Alla-ed-doulah, who took possession of the three Subahs. It was he who received Nadir-shah's letter, that had been originally written to Shujah-ed-doulah. Alla Verdi-khan, who had been promoted to the office of governor of Patna, did not much trust the new viceroy, and perceiving dis-

tinctly the distractions that would follow at court after Nadir-shah's departure, paid little deference to his master, being entirely engrossed with the idea of securing himself in his office, for which purpose he was actually encamped on the frontiers of his new government. He had, however, little to fear from the new viceroy. Ser-efraz-khan was a pious man, full of the outward forms of devotion, and extremely regular in his stated prayers and ablutions. He moreover fasted three full months besides the blessed month of Ramazan, and was scrupulous in the discharge of the several forms of worship to be attended to at different periods throughout the year. He was, however, totally deficient in those great qualities of mind, so indispensably necessary in sovereigns. Wholly engrossed in the little forms of religion, he neglected the affairs of state, and paid no attention to the observance of those duties requisite in a man of his high station and rank. It is true, he offered no injury to the persons of Ray-rayan, Alum-chand, the divan of his father, nor to Jagat-set or Haji Ahmed, his two other ministers, the latter, men of great abilities and influence, who, together with the Ray-rayan, had had the absolute direction of affairs in the late reign; but he resigned the reins of government into the hands of a few interested men, who had personal wrongs to revenge. Among

these were Haji Lutf-ullah, Merdan Ali-khan, Mir Murteza, and others, who, long incensed against Haji Ahmed, depreciated his character every where, and insulted him with taunting expressions. These incensed noblemen, intent on giving vent to their enmity and hatred against Haji Ahmed, caused caricatures to be drawn of him, and eventually effected in Ser-efraz-khan's mind a total alienation of regard towards him. Haji Ahmed was accordingly removed from the office of divan, which he had held ever since Shujah-ed-doulah's accession; and the office was now bestowed on Mir Murteza. The viceroy wanted also to deprive Ata-ullah-khan, son-in-law of the Haji, of the military command of Rajmahl, in order to give it to his own son-in-law Hassan Mahomed-khan. Haji Ahmed dreading the influence of his numerous enemies, endeavoured to gain strength to oppose them; he therefore wrote every thing to his brother Alla Verdi-khan, magnifying trifles exceedingly in the representation. Haji Ahmed had the art, too, to persuade the new viceroy to disband great part of his forces, and otherwise to retrench his expenses. Advice so consonant to his feelings was adopted without hesitation; but while he listened to the counsel of Haji Ahmed to effect reduction, he allowed his enemy Menuchehr-khan to propose the arrest of Haji Ahmed's two sons,

Zein-ed-din Ahmed-khan, who was on the road from Patna, and Seid Ahmed-khan, who had just arrived from his command of Rungpoor. But the viceroy acted with inconsistency; for after having listened to such advice, he had the weakness to disclose it himself to Haji Ahmed, and made a merit of his candour, in order to dispel the old man's apprehensions, and to regain his confidence. Shortly after, however, he affronted him grossly in the following manner. Hearing that Ata-ullah-khan's daughter, Haji Ahmed's grand-daughter, had been betrothed to her cousin Mirza Mahomed, another of his grand-children, who had been adopted by Alla Verdi-khan, he endeavoured to break off the match, and to marry the young lady to his own son; so that not content with himself forming in his court a party against his own interests, he contrived to add strength and support to it by inconsistency and folly. He now set on foot an inquiry into the management of the public revenue of Azimabad Patna, and recalled the troops that had been placed by his father under Alla Verdi-khan, and for whom during many years they had conceived an attachment. On their seeming to hesitate about being removed, he resumed the grant of land which his father Shujah-khan had bestowed on them. All these acts were minutely reported by Haji Ahmed, and assiduously trans-

mitted to his brother Alla Verdi-khan with the usual exaggeration; and to give more weight to his own assertions, he used to superadd the testimony of his son Seid Ahmed-khan, who on such occasions submitted to the influence of paternal authority.

Alla Verdi-khan daily informed of these events, resolved to avail himself of his acquaintance and connexion with his friend Isack-khan, at the court of Dehli, a nobleman who was now in complete possession of the emperor's ear. He wrote him a secret letter, in which he requested to have the patents of the three provinces transferred to himself, under promise of sending to court a present of a crore of rupees, besides the whole of Ser-efraz-khan's wealth. To effect this, he required an imperial commission directed to himself, empowering him to wrest the three provinces out of the hands of the present viceroy. After having dispatched these letters, he gave out that he intended marching against the zemindars of Bhoojpoor, and under that pretence he mustered his troops, which he always kept in constant readiness. At the same time, he had the art to give Ser-efraz-khan public notice of his project, though he in reality waited ready to avail himself of the first opportunity to effect his true purpose. At length, ten months after Nadir-shah's departure for Persia, and just thirteen

khan to the care of Almighty God; "and I hope," added he, "that you will manage so as to live always upon good terms with each other, and that you will act as emergencies require." On the eve of his departure, Alla Verdi-khan gave orders to assemble all the principal officers of his army, whether Mussulmen or Hindus; he then produced two men in the middle of the assembly, one a venerable Mussulman of known piety, bearing the glorious word of God in his hand, and the other a Brahmin, who held a vase full of Ganges' water in his right, and a twig of black tulsy* in the other: these two emblems being held in the highest veneration by those of the Hindu persuasion. After a moment's silence he required the Mussulmen to swear by the Koran, and the Hindus to lay their hands on those emblems of sanctity. He then addressed the assembly in these words: "I am now going to fight my personal enemies, and as I know you to be my old companions, on whom I must trust, and by whose valour I must derive success, I require of all those who intend to stand by me and to follow my fortunes, to swear that they will not abandon me, whether I rush into water or into fire, whether my adversary be an Afrasiab or a Rustem. I require you to swear

* The tulsy, or penny-royal plant, is deemed so sacred among the Hindus that they swear on it.

that you will be friends of my friends, and enemies to my enemies; and that, be my fate what it will, you will support me inviolably with your lives and fortunes." This unexpected address produced its full effect. Those old warriors who had been bred in his camp, and were long attached to him from numberless favours received at his hands, soon afforded example to the rest by taking a solemn oath to that effect. All of them swore: the Mussulmans by carrying the glorious word of God to their foreheads and eyes, and the Hindus by touching the Brahmin's feet, tasting some leaves of the twig of tulsy, and drinking of the Ganges' water. They all then joined in prayer for his prosperity, and with one voice promised to follow him whithersoever he might lead them. All this was done first by the old officers attached to his person; the example was followed without hesitation by the new ones. Alla Verdi-khan being now satisfied of their fidelity, disclosed to them the object of his expedition, and informed them that, forced by the injuries offered to himself, to his brother, and to every individual in their families, he was marching against their common oppressor, Ser-efraz-khan. These words startled some of them; but as they had taken an unconditional oath, and were now too far engaged to withdraw, they saw that there remained no alternative but that of abiding by

their engagement, and of following his fortune. It being now dark, the assembly broke up; and the next morning, being the favourable day, he turned to the east and boldly advanced towards Moorshedabad. His army was composed of a numerous and well-appointed body of old troops, and a good park of artillery, furnished with every necessary store. By continuous marches he reached Shahabad, which town has a fortification that entirely shuts up the passage between the hills and the bank of the Ganges. There he concealed his army in a valley of the neighbourhood, and selecting Mustefa-khan Afghan, an officer of approved zeal and tried courage, to whom he gave a hundred horse, and put into his hands an order and passport signed by the viceroy, but destined for another commander, which Alla Verdi-khan had found means to obtain. This officer had orders to present his passport to the garrison, which, consisting only of two hundred infantry, might not be upon their guard, and he was directed, if possible, to render himself master of the pass; after which he was to strike up his drums, as a signal for the army to advance. Mustefa-khan advancing with his small troop into the valley, was hailed from the works according to custom, and ordered to stand. He sent one of his men with the pass and the written order, which being examined, the gate was ordered to be set

open, and the troop to be admitted. Mustefa-khan marched in, and ordered his drums to strike up, to which signal were added some shouts by his people. On this a party of the army concealed behind the hills marched round, and suddenly making its appearance, advanced in battle-array, with ensigns displayed and music playing. The garrison, alarmed at such a sight, shut the gate, and wanted to offer resistance, when Mustefa-khan called out to them, that if they made the least movement, he would fall upon them directly and put them to the sword. This threat having intimidated the garrison, they suffered Mustefa-khan's people to open the gate, and the troops of the advance pickets passing without difficulty, took possession of all the posts. This being the day on which the messenger entrusted with the letter to Jagat-set had received orders to present it, the latter, on perusing the contents and comparing the dates, concluded that his friend Alla Verdi-khan must be by this time on the side of the pass of Taliagary, and that in four or five days more he would be in the territory of Moorshedabad. With an air of alarm he immediately mounted, and with much consternation in his features, he presented the letter to Serefraz-khan, saying that he supposed Alla Verdi-khan to be now at Rajmahl; at the same time he produced another letter from Alla Verdi-khan to

the viceroy himself. In this it was stated that, after the many affronts received by his brother Haji Ahmed, attempts had been made upon the honour of his family; Alla Verdi-khan, in order to save that family from disgrace, had been obliged to come so far; but with no other view than that of protecting his honour. "I require, however," said he, moreover, "that Haji Ahmed shall be permitted to come to me with his family and dependants." Ser-efraz-khan, confounded at the intelligence, vented his resentment in fruitless reproaches, and then called a council of his ministers and general officers; when Haji Ahmed having been likewise sent for, he gave him a severe reprimand mingled with threats. The latter, sensible of his danger, assumed a soothing tone of voice, and in his endeavours to pacify the viceroy, went so far as to promise that the moment he should be in camp, he would endeavour to persuade Alla Verdi-khan to return to his government. This proposal was variously received by the council: some objecting to Haji Ahmed's being allowed to proceed to his brother's camp, and others thinking that he might be trusted, and his faith put to the test. The matter remaining thus in suspense, Mahomed Ghous-khan, an officer of character and reputation, who had for many years been attached to the late Shujah-ed-doulah, thus addressed the

viceroy: "I do not see," said he, raising his voice, "what benefit can result from imprisoning this old man; nor is it at all probable that Alla Verdi-khan, on his brother being arrested, should discontinue his operation. It becomes then a matter of small moment, whether Haji Ahmed be dismissed with full leave to repair to his brother's camp or not. If he fulfils his promise, well and good; if he does not, I do not perceive what harm he can do us. If we are ready and willing to encounter Alla Verdi-khan in the field, we care little whether or not he is joined by his brother. Haji Ahmed is but a single individual after all; his being in his brother's camp can neither add nor diminish the enemy's strength." Mahomed Ghous-khan's opinion having been approved, Haji Ahmed received his leave, and he instantly set out for his brother's camp. Whilst on his march thither, he repeatedly wrote to the viceroy, and insinuated through the means of his friend, that Alla Verdi-khan was in his heart as faithful and as zealous a servant as ever. "Let not my master think," said he, "of marching with arms in his hands against so powerful a servant, at present full of sentiments of attachment and respect. Let not your highness be at the trouble of moving from your palace; for Alla Verdi-khan wants only to enjoy the honour of kissing your princely threshold, that he may have an opportu-

nity of submitting his complaints, and of approving himself a respectful and dutiful servant: this is his only aim. But should your highness, at the instigation of interested men, reject the counsel now offered, and march out against him, I fear that in his despair, and in the necessity of securing his life and his honour, he will venture upon steps that will tend to his shame both in this world and in the next."

As very little effect was anticipated by dismissing Haji Ahmed, there arose a variety of opinions about the expediency of marching or of not marching against the enemy. It was at last resolved to proceed, and by the exertions of Merdan Ali-khan (who was greatly incensed both against Haji Ahmed and Alla Verdi-khan), the army with Serefraz-khan at its head arrived in three or four days at Comrah, on the twenty-second of Moharrem in 22 Moharrem, A.H. 1153. 9 April, A.D. 1740.
the year 1153 of the Hegira. At that town it halted a little, it being necessary to hear the report brought by two persons, who had been sent by Serefraz-khan to ascertain Alla Verdi-khan's wishes and designs. For this purpose the eunuch Sunnet and Shujah Kuli-khan, fojdar of Hoogly, had been deputed. On their return from the enemy's camp they brought with them another deputy, who came on the part of Alla Verdi-khan, *viz*. the physician Mahomed Ali-khan. Their report amounted to

this, that Alla Verdi-khan was still a submissive dutiful servant, and to this profession they added the following message, as from his own mouth: "When persons of princely and generous dispositions vouchsafe to raise others to high stations and dignities, they look upon them from that moment to be their sons, and think it incumbent upon them to preserve their honour and character in the eyes of the world. Now it is notorious that I, your dutiful servant, owe my prosperity to your illustrious family, which vouchsafed to raise me to high preferment; and as I wish to shew the world the estimation in which I am held, and to evince my fidelity, which I conceive to be excelled by none of your most zealous servants, I beg that you will be pleased to grant me one of two requests. The first is, that you will dismiss from your presence and counsels certain persons, who, having conceived a jealousy of our family, are ever busy in filling your princely mind with hostile feelings towards us. These persons are Merdan Ali-khan, Mir Murteza-khan, Haji Lutf Ali-khan, and Mahomed Ghous-khan. After their departure, your servant thinking his person safe, will venture to pay his respects. The second request is, that, should you think this favour ought not to be granted, then may it please you to retire to your palace and issue your commands to them, to march

into the field and to fight me in battle. If victory favours them, let them avail themselves of the privilege; but if they are vanquished, let them retire from your Highness's presence, and I shall then come myself and lay my head at your feet in token of my sincerity. I herewith send you the holy Koran, on which I have taken the most sacred oaths."

The glorious volume was accordingly produced by the physician Mahomed Ali-khan; but as the noblemen in question possessed the highest influence over Ser-efraz-khan's mind, and over his court, neither of the proposals were accepted. Still no proper preparations were made for action, as the best officers suggested. Meanwhile, Haji Ahmed having arrived at Rajmahl, was received with open arms by his brother, who directly took him upon his elephant. Haji Ahmed, as if to fulfil the promise he had made at his departure, prevailed upon his brother to have his elephant turned about, and retreated for some hundred yards, after which he returned to the road again. Ser-efraz-khan hearing of the enemy's march, advanced to a village called Gurreed, a noted spot upon the banks of the Bagretty, whilst Mahomed Ghous-khan pushed forward in the direction where the enemy was encamped, on the opposite side at Sooty. The river, which was every where fordable

was about one arrow-shot across, and intervened between Mohamed Ghous-khan and Ser-efraz-khan, nor was the distance between him and the enemy's camp more than five or six coss. Meanwhile messages and messengers were continually passing and repassing betwixt the two camps, Ser-efraz-khan offering to receive Alla Verdi-khan into favour again, and wishing to see him; and the other answering in the strain he had already done: "In grateful remembrance of the favours received from your father, I will never form any designs against you; but it is under condition only that you dismiss from your service those enemies of our family, who by their rancorous hatred have brought matters to the state of disunion that now leads to a crisis. Dismiss them, or deliver them over to me; but if you are averse to this, then stand aloof, pitch your tent upon yonder eminence, and from thence witness our contest. If I am victorious, I will certainly come to pay you my respects; and if I am vanquished, you may do with me whatever you think proper." Although such messages were daily exchanged, Jagat-set was busily employed in writing to every one of Alla Verdi-khan's commanders, and in conveying to them, each according to his station, promissory notes called *tips*, usual amongst bankers, payable only on the condition of seizing his person, and delivering him over to Ser-

efraz-khan. Some of those notes were received that very evening by many, and amongst others by Mustefa-khan, who, in company with others zealously attached to Alla Verdi-khan, carried them to him. "If we are to fight," said that officer, "let it be to-morrow morning and without loss of time, for the next day matters may take a very different turn." Alla Verdi-khan caught at the advice, and that very moment ordered powder and ball to be distributed to the troops. His army was divided into three bodies: one division under the command of Nandu-lal, a Hindu officer of character, who was also entrusted with Alla Verdi-khan's standard, his orders were to attack Ghous-khan and the troops on the west-side of the river; the two other divisions fording the stream, one of them was destined to turn the rear of Ser-efraz-khan's army, with orders to fall upon it as soon as they should see Alla Verdi-khan engaged with the front, for which purpose he advanced direct on Ser-efraz-khan. The body that had been thus detached, had orders to remain concealed until it should hear the artillery open, at which signal it was to fall at once both upon Ser-efraz-khan's rear and his camp. This division commenced its march at one o'clock in the morning, and was commanded by Nevazish Mahomed-khan, Alla Verdi-khan's eldest son-in-law, who had under his command Abd-ul-

ali-khan, with Mustefa-khan, Shemshir-khan, and other Afghan commanders. Alla Verdi-khan with his corps followed, but at some distance, whilst Nandu-lal, in compliance with his orders, manœuvered slowly and silently opposite to Ghous-khan. The engagement commenced at dawn of day, by which time Alla Verdi-khan being near Ser-efraz-khan's front, fired one of his guns. On this the division that had marched during the night attacked Ser-efraz-khan's rear; whilst Nandu-lal engaged Ghous-khan. Ser-efraz-khan, who was then at his devotions, got up immediately, mounted his elephant, and marched straight towards Alla Verdi-khan, at the very time when some of the enemy, getting into his rear, had penetrated to the middle of his camp. Meanwhile Ser-efraz-khan, who had already passed his band of music and was advancing at the head of his line, was killed by a musket-ball. With him fell also a number of men of distinction, amongst whom were Mir Kamal, Mir Gadhy, Mir Ahmed, Mir Siraj-ed-din, Haji Lutf Ali-khan, and Korban Ali-khan. The Raj-rayan Aalem-chand being wounded, as well as Mirza Erich-khan, they returned into the city. On the other hand Mahomed Ghous-khan, who was engaged with Nandu-lal, gave him a complete defeat, in which that general was slain. Whilst the troops of Nandu-lal were seen flying on the

opposite side of the river, Ser-efraz-khan's elephant was descried retiring towards the city. Ghous-khan ascribing this flight to his master's want of courage, dispatched a swift horseman with orders to bring the elephant back at all events, and to inform his master that he had defeated one division of the enemy, and that now was the time for him to join him, that they might fall together upon those that yet stood their ground. Alla Verdi-khan, sensible of this critical juncture, did all in his power to restrain the ardour of his soldiers, and endeavoured to keep them together; for though he knew for certain that Ser-efraz-khan was slain, yet he was aware that Nandu-lal had been killed, and his division defeated; that Ghous-khan, of whose valour and abilities he entertained high respect, was at the head of a body of troops who still stood firm at this time, and he had the mortification to perceive, that the troops he had sent forwards to fall on Ser-efraz-khan's camp, were actually plundering those tents of a rich booty, and were every where dispersed. Things were in this state when the horseman dispatched by Ghous-khan returned, and informed him that his master was slain. Plunged into despair, and sensible that Alla Verdi-khan, to whom his hatred of his family was known long ago, would now carry every thing before him, and that he had no mercy to hope for at his hands,

he was resolved to perish in the field. Calling therefore for his two sons, Mahomed Kutb and Mahomed Pir, he commanded them to loosen his cuirass from behind, and then turning to them he said: "My children, nothing remains for us but to perish in the field. Our lives are now at an end, we must wash our hands of existence and rush upon that body of troops that surrrounds Alla Verdi-khan, to try if we can come at his person." Ghous-khan and his sons were considered the lions of the field, and the irresistible heroes of their age. With the few that chose to stand by them, they advanced on their enemy with the greatest intrepidity. Many of Ghous-khan's troops, already apprised of Ser-efraz-khan's death, had quitted their ranks, and were retreating towards the city; so that a very few of them chose to stand by a man resolved not to survive a defeat. With these few he advanced, and was already close upon his enemy, when he received a wound from a musket-ball; still he continued to advance, and calling for his horse, with a determination to single out Alla Verdi-khan, he was in the act of alighting from his elephant, when he was again struck by two musket-balls which laid him dead. His two sons seeing their father killed dismounted, let their horses loose, and taking to their sabre and buckler rushed on foot on the enemy; when on closing

with them, they were shot at on all sides, and fell dead. Mahomed Kutb, the eldest, who bore a high character for prowess and bodily strength, finding himself dying, sat on the ground without quitting either buckler or sword, and in that warlike posture breathed his last. He was afterwards buried on that very spot. Mir Delir Ali, another officer, hearing of Ser-efraz-khan's death, refused to survive his master and friend, and with sixteen men only, who stood by him, rushed on the enemy and was slain, fighting valiantly to the last. In fact, few soldiers and few friends in Hindoostan have ever proved so faithful as those of Ser-efraz-khan. Mir Sherf-ed-din, who, with the corps under his command, had bravely encountered Alla Verdi-khan in person and struck him with two arrows, finding that the day was lost, retreated and quitted the field. One of those arrows penetrated the bow Alla Verdi-khan held in his hand, and the other made a slight wound on his right shoulder. In a word, every one of Ser-efraz-khan's men exhibited proofs of fidelity; some fell on the field of battle, and others in despair retreated towards the city. Victory having now declared for Alla Verdi-khan, he immediately despatched his brother Haji Ahmed to Moorshedabad, with orders to tranquillize the inhabitants of that city, and to place guards over all the offices of the government and

on all the apartments of Ser-efraz-khan's palace, with strict injunctions to establish order and security in every quarter. Haji Ahmed, in compliance with these commands, proclaimed every where the new viceroy, and by this means alone put an end to those tumults that had already began to display themselves.

Two days after the battle, it being about the middle of Sefer, in the year 1153 of the Hegira, Alla Verdi-khan marched slowly and leisurely into the city, with great pomp and magnificence. On advancing to the palace, and before taking his seat, he struck off to the right, and went to the apartments where Zinet-en-nissa Begum, daughter of Jafer-khan, and mother to the late Ser-efraz-khan, resided. He stopped at the gate, and assumed a respectful posture, and in a moving tone of voice, having first made a profound bow, he supplicated her forgiveness, and sent in the following message: "Whatever was predestined in the book of fate has come to pass, and the ingratitude of this worthless servant is now registered in the unfading records of history. But I swear, that so long as life exists, I will never swerve from the path of respect and the duties of the most complete submission to your highness; and I hope that the guilt of this poor humbled and afflicted slave may in time be effaced from your memory,

Sefer, A.H. 1153. May, A.D. 1740.

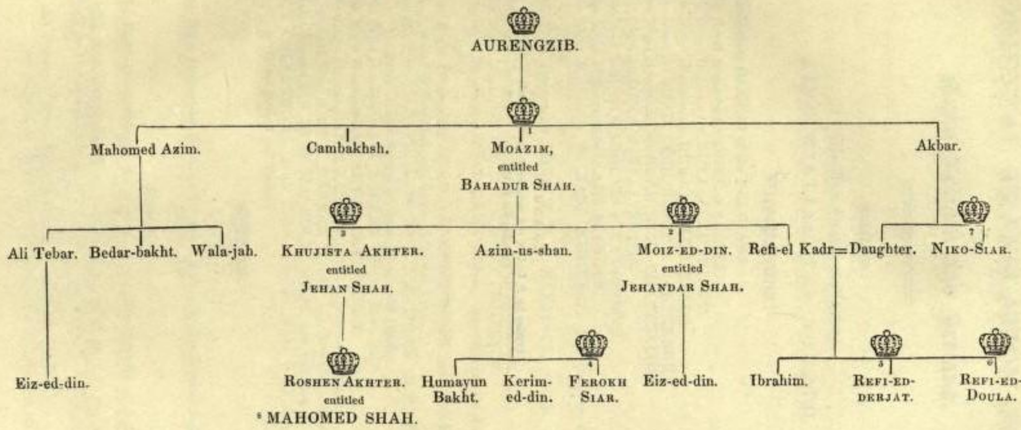
and that you will at some distant period condescend to accept in extenuation of my crime those demonstrations of submission and tokens of dutiful attachment, which I am disposed to exhibit."

After this speech, in which he seemed greatly affected, and to which no answer was returned, he continued his route to the Chehel Sutun, or palace of forty pillars, built by Shujah-ed-doula for public ceremonies as well as for his residence. On entering the hall of audience, he took his seat, ordered the music to strike up, and received the offerings of the public civil officers, of the military commanders, and of the principal citizens of Moorshedabad, who hastened to pay him that token of acknowledgment. Owing, however, to the black ingratitude of which he had been guilty towards his lord and benefactor's son, the person of Alla Verdi-khan was at first viewed with sentiments of detestation, for his real worth was not then known; but in time he displayed many virtues. He maintained a moral character, he treated the nobility and the chiefs with so much kindness, he acted with such condescension and benignity both to his friends and to strangers, he applied himself so earnestly to gain the hearts both of the powerful and defenceless, he evinced such a lively sense of gratitude for the services rendered him by those attached to his person, he paid so much regard to

the rights of distant consanguinity or old acquaintance, he had so much commiseration for the poor, and paid so much attention to the oppressed, and evinced such generosity in the forgiveness of personal injuries, that he proved in the end to be a great governor and an excellent man. A total alteration gradually took place in public opinion regarding him, and those who at first could not bear to look on him, became in time so fascinated with his amiable deportment, and so attached to his person, that few instances have been observed in his time or in any other of such strong attachment. Upon the whole, although the slaying of the son of his benefactor was unquestionably one of the blackest acts that could be committed, yet it cannot be denied that Ser-efraz-khan had no talents for government, and no capacity for business; that had his government lasted for some time more, such a train of evils and such a series of troubles would have been the consequence of his incapacity, that disorders without number and disturbances without end must have arisen, and would inevitably have brought ruin and desolation on these countries and their inhabitants. The Mahrattas had already cast their eyes upon these rich provinces, and they shortly after invaded them on all sides; but lucky was it for the inhabitants that those merciless freebooters had to deal with such a

governor as Alla Verdi-khan, who by his talents both for war and government, and by the exertions of his sword, found means to repel those ravagers, and at last to drive them entirely out of Bengal, as we shall succinctly mention in the course of these sheets. Such exertions could not have been anticipated from Ser-efraz-khan and his ministers, who were not men to oppose such a torrent with effect. By a peculiar felicity, the new governor's three nephews proved men of merit, and did honour to such an uncle. Every one of them, invested with the military rank of seven thousand horse, and elevated to the highest dignities and offices of the state, seemed to have taken him for their pattern, and to have had nothing in view but the welfare of the people entrusted to their care. Of each of whom, as well as of Alla Verdi-khan's children and family, mention will be more particularly made when the history shall reach to their time.

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A Collation of the Syriac MSS. of the New Testament, both Nestorian and Jacobite, that are accessible in England, by the Rev. Professor Lee.
This collation will include the various readings of the Syriac MSS. of the New Testament in the British Museum, and the Libraries at Oxford, Cambridge, &c.

The Didascalia, or Apostolical Constitutions of the Abyssinian Church; translated by T. P. Platt, Esq. A.M.
This ancient Ethiopic work is unknown in Europe, and contains many very curious opinions.

The Vrihad Aranyaka; translated by Dr. Stenzler.
This ancient Sanscrit Upanishad is reckoned part of the Yajur Veda. It consists of reflections and dialogues on the origin and nature of the gods, men, fire, &c., and is one of the principal authorities in the Vedanta system of philosophy.

The Akhlák-i-Násirí, of Násir-ud-din of Tús in Bokharia; translated by the Rev. H. G. Keene, A.M.
This Persian system of Ethics is an elaborate composition, formed on Greek models, and is very highly esteemed in Persia.

The Harivansa, translated by M. Langlois.
This Sanscrit work is generally considered as a Supplement to the Mahábhárata, and throws much light upon Hindu Mythology.

Class 2d.—History, Geography, and Travels.

The Sharaf Námah; translated by Professor Charmoy.
This is a Persian History of the Dynasties which have governed in Kurdistan, written by Sheref Ibn Shams-ud-din, at the close of the sixteenth century.

The History of Mázindarán and Tabaristán; translated by Professor Charmoy.
This is a Persian history of part of the Persian empire, written by Zahir-uddin, and comes down to A.D. 1475.

The Tárikh-i-Afghán; translated by Professor Bernhard Dorn. Part II.
This is a Persian History of the Afghans, who claim to be descended from the Jews. It will be accompanied by an account of the Afghan tribes.

The Annals of Elias, Metropolitan of Nisibis; translated by the Rev. Josiah Forshall, A.M.
This Syriac Chronicle contains chronological tables of the principal dynasties of the world, brief memoirs of the Patriarchs of the Nestorian church, and notices of the most remarkable events in the East, from the birth of our Saviour to the beginning of the eleventh century.

Ibn Haukal's Geography; translated by Professor Hamaker.
This Arabic work was compiled in the 10th century by a celebrated Mohammedan Traveller, and is not the same as the Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal that was translated by Sir William Ouseley.

The History of Rájá Krishan Chandra, translated by G. C. Haughton, Esq., M.A. F.R.S., &c. &c.
This Bengali work includes an account of the Rise of the Raja's family, of the events that led to the fatal catastrophe of the Black Hole at Calcutta, and of the triumphant establishment of the English under Lord Clive in Bengal.

The Chronicle of Abulfat'h Ibn Abulhasan Alsamari; translated by the Rev. T. Jarrett, M.A.
This rare Arabic work, of which only one perfect copy is known to be in Europe, is a History of the Samaritans from the creation to the middle of the fourteenth century.

Ibn Khaldún's History of the Berbers; translated by the Rev. Professor Lee.
This is a most rare and valuable work, containing an account of the origin, progress, and decline of the dynasties which governed the northern coast of Africa.

Ibn Koteiba's History of the Arabians, translated by Dr. J. H. Mœller.
This celebrated work contains the History of the Arabians from the time of Ismael the son of Abraham to near the end of the third century of the Mahommedan, or the 9th of the Christian era.

Makrizi's Khitat, or History and Statistics of Egypt; translated by Abraham Salamé, Esq.
This Arabic work includes accounts of the conquest of Egypt by the Caliphs, A.D. 640; and of the cities, rivers, ancient and modern inhabitants of Egypt, &c.

A History of the Birman Empire, translated by Father Sangermano.
This work, which contains the political and religious history of Birmah, was translated by Father Sangermano, who was a missionary in Ava twenty-six years. It also furnishes accounts of the natural productions, laws, and metaphysics of that country.

The Tuhfat al Kibár of Hájí Khalífah; translated by Mr. James Mitchell. Part II.
This Turkish History contains an account of the maritime wars of the Turks in the Mediterranean and Black Seas, and on the Danube, &c., principally in the time of the Crusades.

The Siyar ul Mutakherin of Mír Gholàm Hussein Khan; translated by Lieut. Col. John Briggs. Vol. II.
This celebrated Persian work comprises the annals of Hindustán from the time of the Emperor Aurungzebe to the administration of Warren Hastings in Bengal.

The Khatai Nameh; translated by M. Fleischer.
This curious Turkish work contains a description of China, with accounts of its government, laws, &c.

The Tarikh Tabari; translated by M. Dubeux.
A highly esteemed and very authentic history, written in Persian, containing accounts of the Patriarchs, Prophets, Philosophers, of Mohammed and of the Khalifs.

Class 3d.—Bibliography, Belles-Lettres, and Biography.

Haft Paiker, an historical Romance of Bahrám Gúr; translated by the Right Hon. Sir Gore Ouseley, Bart.
This Persian poem of Nazami of Ganjah, contains the romantic history of Behrám, the Vth of the Sassanian dynasty of Persian Kings.

Mihr-u-Mushteri; translated by the Right Hon. Sir Gore Ouseley, Bart.
This Persian Poem, of which an abridgment will be published, was composed by Muhammed Assár, and celebrates the friendship and adventures of Mihr and Mushteri, the sons of King Shapur and his grand Vizier.

Ibn Khallikán's Lives of Illustrious Men: translated by Dr. F. A. Rosen.
This is an Arabic Biographical Dictionary, arranged alphabetically, of the most celebrated Arabian historians, poets, warriors, &c. who lived in the seven first centuries of the era of Mahommed, A.D. 600 to A.D. 1300.

The Bustán of Sádí; translated by James Ross, Esq., A.M.
This is a much-admired Persian Poem, consisting of Tales, &c. illustrative of moral duties.

The Divan of the Huzeilis; translated by Professor Kosegarten.
This is a collection of ancient Arabic Poems similar to the Hamasa; the translation will be accompanied by the Arabic Text and scholia.

Royal Asiatic Society's House,
14, *Grafton Street, Bond Street, London.*
1st June 1832.

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